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ELIZABETH LADY SHELLEY

After the picture by George Romney, R.A.,
in the possession of Sir John Shelley, Bart.

SHELLEY IN ENGLAND

NEW FACTS AND LETTERS
FROM THE SHELLEY-WHITTON PAPERS

BY

ROGER INGPEN

EDITOR OF "THE LETTERS OF PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES

VOLUME II

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

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Shelley in England

Volume II

Shelley in England

CHAPTER XIII

MARRIED LIFE

Bysshe's return to York — Hogg's treachery — The arrival of Eliza Westbrook—Bysshe moves to Keswick—Correspondence with Hogg—Miss Hitchener the consoler—Robert Southey—Bysshe and his landlord—The Duke of Norfolk—A visit to Greystoke—Correspondence with Mr. Shelley—Mr. Westbrook's allowance—Hellen Shelley—William Godwin—The Irish expedition—The Shelleys at Nantgwillt—Scandal at Cuckfield—Bysshe and his grandfather —*Letter to Lord Ellenborough*—Lynmouth—Miss Hitchener—Tanyrallt—Shelley arrested.

BYSSHE returned to York by October 26; for on that date he wrote to Mr. Shelley, who had told him to discuss any questions respecting his allowance with Whitton. The lawyer's cautious method of doing business and his letters of remonstrance had so greatly irritated Bysshe that he was prompted to protest to his father at the manner in which he was being treated. Bysshe had been requested by Whitton to address to his care any letters that he might write to Mr. Shelley, and not to send them direct. But he ignored this request, and wrote to Field Place; while Hogg addressed and sealed the letter with his coat of arms—displaying three boars' heads couped, with an oak tree on a wreath as a crest.

Mr. Shelley was not deceived by the direction, and sent the letter to Whitton on October 29. "The enclosed is from York," he said—"Hogg's direction and seal." He then, as usual, commented on Bysshe's behaviour, especially in not availing himself of Whitton's "good intentions," and remarked that "when he can submit to filial duty, and obedience to his Parents, and gentlemanly conduct and behaviour towards you, who so kindly undertake this *Unique* [? business] on my account, He will then experience Parental fondness on our parts, and a suitable return on yours." Mr. Shelley was relieved that Bysshe had left London, and he had no wish to see him, for he said, "York for ever! I hope he will remain there untill a thorough amendment takes place." He concluded with the following unexpected reference to Sir Bysshe's geniality: "My father was extremely pleasant at the signing the Codicils. Mr. Stedman [a Horsham solicitor] told him any pen would do. 'Oh! ho!' and with great gravity produced Mrs. Clarke's leg that is sold in Ivory as a Toy at Worthing."

P. B. Shelley to Timothy Shelley

[*Postmark*, York, *Oct.* 26, 1811.]

Sir,—When I last saw you I was referred by you to Mr. Whitton for the payment of the quarterly

allowance on which I was desired by you to rely. Mr. W.'s answer to my note was in the most vague stile of complaint concerning the letters which I had written to you. . . I do not see how personal feelings, even if unjustly wounded, can be an excuse to a man's own conscience for the violation of an unequivocal promise. . . But have they been *unjustly* wounded? Are the remarks to which I conjecture Mr. W.'s letters to allude *true* or *false*. . . Did you, or did you not falsely speak of my friend to Mr. J. Hogg, and as falsely assert that Stockdale the bookseller was the author of these misrepresentations?

Did Graham, the music-master, or did he not ward off a threatned action for *libel?* Have you or have you not written to Mr. Hogg of Stockton letters calculated, and intended to lower my character in their opinion, opposing as in contrast your own excellencies? I am compelled to recur to these things in consequence of your Attorney's letter, and your unjust anger.—I am, yours, &c.,

P. B. Shelley.

[Addressed]:
Timothy Shelley, Esq.,
Field Place,
Horsham,
M.P. Sussex.

Mr. Whitton, however, on reading this letter regarded it as an "improper writing for Mr. Shelley's perusal"; he told Bysshe so in a note, and for that reason he did not intend to forward it. The lawyer remonstrated with Bysshe for his "sentiments of anger" in his endeavour to serve him, and said that

" the boyish warmth of Mr. P. B. Shelley is inexcusable, and W. will consider that the flippancy and impertinent observations made by Mr. P. B. Shelley are attributable to an irritable and uninformed mind." Mr. Whitton, like many others, experienced a difficulty in maintaining his dignity in a third person letter ; he wrote in anger, and he probably meant to describe Bysshe's mind as " unformed."

On Bysshe's arrival at York he found that Harriet was not alone, but that her sister, Eliza Westbrook, was keeping her company. The reasons given for her appearance were such as to cause him great distress, for they were none other than the result of treachery on the part of his friend Hogg. It appears that when he was at Edinburgh, attracted by Harriet's girlish charms, Hogg had fallen deeply in love with her. He did not, however, declare his passion until they went to York, when Harriet forbade him to mention the subject again, and hoping she might hear no more of it, she forbore to tell her husband. Then Bysshe went to Sussex and left Harriet in the care of his friend, who not only again avowed his love but pestered her " with arguments of detestable sophistry." Poor Harriet withstood these entreaties, and, when Hogg, now contrite, wanted to write to Bysshe and tell him the whole story, she refused to allow him, as she feared the consequences of the revelation on her

husband's mind at such a distance. Harriet, however, took immediate steps to protect herself from any further annoyance from Hogg, and sent for her sister Eliza, who probably arrived at York shortly before Bysshe.

In his letters to Miss Hitchener Bysshe relates these incidents, and describes his interview with Hogg after learning the truth from Harriet. Bysshe said that he sought Hogg, and they walked to the fields beyond York. He desired to know fully the account of this affair. "I heard it from him," he said, "and I believe he was sincere." . . . "Our conversation was long. He was silent, pale, overwhelmed; the suddenness of the disclosure, and, oh! I hope its heinousness, had affected him. I told him that I pardoned him—freely, fully, completely pardoned, that not the least anger against him possessed me. His vices and not himself were the objects of my horror and my hatred. I told him I yet ardently panted for his *real* welfare; but that ill-success in crime and misery appeared to me an earnest of its opposite in benevolence."

Hogg pleaded for forgiveness, and Bysshe, with singular generosity, pardoned him. He also begged for Harriet's forgiveness, and declared that if he did not obtain it he would blow his brains out at her feet. Bysshe really believed in the sincerity of the penitent,

but he realised that he and Harriet could not possibly continue to live in the same house with him. Bysshe therefore decided to leave York immediately; he was very miserable, and so long as he got away from that town he was indifferent where he went. Harriet and her sister knew and liked Keswick, which perhaps had some attraction for Bysshe, as Southey was living hard by at Greta Hall. So to Keswick they decided to go—Bysshe, Harriet, and Eliza; they made their preparations swiftly, and, although Hogg was aware they were leaving, they departed without taking farewell of him. Wending their way across Yorkshire, they halted at Richmond, and then continued on their course to Keswick, where they arrived in the first week of November.

Bysshe wrote many letters from Keswick to Hogg, who printed some of them in his *Life of Shelley*, but apparently in a much altered form, so as to disguise any references to the painful episode with which they were principally concerned. In reading between the lines of these letters, with the assistance of Bysshe's correspondence with Miss Hitchener, one gathers that Hogg began by expressing full contrition for his conduct. Bysshe, who at first believed that he was really penitent, told Hogg how deep his affection had been for him, and how he had once fondly hoped they would never be separated. As time went on,

the tone of Hogg's letters deteriorated, and he now expressed a desire that he might live again with Harriet and Bysshe, who firmly put this suggestion aside, having detected in his sophistry " deep cunning."

When this device failed, Hogg taunted Bysshe with his " *consistency* in despising religion, despising duelling, and despising real friendship," with some hints as to duelling to induce him to fight it out in this manner. Bysshe replied that he would not fight a duel with him, that he had no right to expose his own life or take Hogg's. He confessed he wished, from various motives, to prolong his existence, nor did he think that Hogg's life was a fair exchange for his, as he had always acted up to his principles, which was not the case with Hogg.

Miss Hitchener proved to Bysshe a consolation, and his correspondence with her supplied him with an outlet for his pent-up feelings. " Your letters," he said, " are like angels sent from heaven on missions of peace." He spoke of her as the sister of his soul (as Hogg had once been his spiritual brother), and begged her to visit them. When Miss Hitchener demurred, he wrote, " Harriet has laughed at your suppositions. She invites you to our habitation wherever we are ; she does this sincerely, and bids me to send her love to you. Eliza, her sister, is with us. She is, I think, a woman rather superior to the

generality. She is prejudiced; but her prejudices I do not consider unvanquishable. Indeed, I have already conquered some of them."

Hogg had conceived a dislike for Eliza Westbrook, which was natural, considering the reason for her appearance at York, and she probably reciprocated the dislike. He did what he could to tarnish the glory with which Harriet invested her sister. We are told by this amusing chronicler that Eliza was old enough[1] to be the mother of Harriet, who sometimes addressed her as "Mamma," and that she "was as dignified as satin or silk could make her." Harriet had described her as exquisitely beautiful, and perhaps thought her so, for Eliza had cared for and tended her from childhood. Hogg was therefore bitterly disappointed to find that Eliza's face was much marked with the scars of smallpox and deadly white, not unlike "a mass of boiled rice, boiled in dirty water; the eyes dark but dull, and without meaning; the hair black and glossy, but coarse, and there was an admired crop, much like the tail of a horse—a switch tail. The fine figure was meagre, prim, and constrained."

Eliza was fond of managing, and soon fell into the

[1] The register of baptisms of St. George's, Hanover Square, reveals that Eliza Westbrook was born on June 4, 1782, consequently she was thirteen years older than Harriet, who was born on August 1, 1795. The Westbrooks had two other children; Robert, born September 5, 1784, and Mary Ann, born April 31, 1781.

habit of looking after Harriet and her husband. She also looked after their resources, and kept the money in the corner of an old stocking. Harriet was happy, and Bysshe was tolerant of his sister-in-law, with her prim ways and everlasting admonitions, whose favourite remark, when Harriet did anything out of the ordinary, was, "Gracious Heaven! What would Miss Warne say?" Even the omniscient Hogg has failed to enlighten us about Eliza's friend, whose opinions she speculated upon with so much curiosity.

During their first days at the lakes they found lodgings at Townhead, Keswick, but by November 12 they had moved outside the town to Chestnut Cottage. Shelley described the scenery as "awfully beautiful. Our window commands a view of two lakes, and the giant mountains which confine them. But the object most interesting to my feelings is Southey's habitation. He is now on a journey; when he returns, I shall call on him." [1] Bysshe looked forward to meeting the author of *Kehama* with his accustomed enthusiasm, and he tells Miss Hitchener in another letter that he had been contemplating the outside of Greta Hall. When, however, in the course of time he found himself face to face with Southey he was obliged to admit disappointment. The older man was middle-aged, with settled opinions, and given to

[1] Shelley to Miss Hitchener, November 14, 1811.

offering counsel. "I am not sure," he wrote to Miss Hitchener,[1] "that Southey is *quite* uninfluenced by venality. He is disinterested, so far as respects his family; but I question if he is so, as far as respects the world. His writings solely support a numerous family. His sweet children are such amiable creatures that I almost forgive what I suspect." Bysshe found Mrs. Southey very stupid, but he enjoyed her home-made tea-cakes. He also met other members of Southey's hospitable household: his two sisters-in law, Mrs. Coleridge, whom he thought even worse than Mrs. Southey, and Mrs. Lovell, formerly an actress (whom he liked), the widow of Robert Lovell, the young poet-friend of Coleridge and Southey in their early Bristol days. Bysshe encountered no other local literary celebrities, neither De Quincey nor bluff "Christopher North," and his desire to meet the other lake poets, Coleridge and Wordsworth, was not fulfilled.

The young couple in engaging the furnished rooms at Chestnut Cottage had not thought of including the garden in their arrangements. When a member of the Southey household asked Harriet if it was let with their apartments, she replied, "Oh, no, the garden is not ours; but then, you know, the people let us run about in it, whenever Percy and I are tired of sitting in the house."

[1] On January 2, 1812.

Bysshe and Harriet were, as this story suggests, in some respects still rather like a couple of overgrown children. He complained rather indignantly of his treatment by Mr. Dare, the landlord of Chestnut Cottage, and remarked, "Strange prejudices have these country people." Mr. Dare told Bysshe that he was not satisfied with him, because the country were gossiping very strangely of his proceedings. The explanation was that Bysshe had been talking one evening to Harriet and Eliza about the nature of the atmosphere, and the young chemist made some experiments with hydrogen gas, the flame of which was vivid enough to be observed at some distance. Mr. Dare was unconvinced, and said, "I am very ill satisfied with this. Sir, I don't like to talk of it. I wish you to provide yourself elsewhere." Bysshe added that he had with much difficulty quieted his landlord's fears. "He does not, however, much like us, and I am by no means certain that he will permit us to remain."

Remembering the Duke of Norfolk's friendly interposition in the spring, when he tried to get Bysshe to take up politics, he wrote before he left York to the Duke to ask him to intercede on his behalf with Mr. Shelley in regard to his marriage and his allowance. He also put in a word on behalf of Medwin, from whom he had borrowed a sum of money to

enable him to carry off Harriet to Edinburgh. He had heard that the Horsham lawyer had had a *rencontre* with Mr. Shelley, who disbelieved that he was ignorant of the purpose for which Bysshe had borrowed the money. The Duke good-naturedly wrote to Mr. Shelley some days later, as he noted in his diary, that he would go to Field Place " to confer with him on the unhappy difference with his son, from whom I have a letter before me." He also wrote to Bysshe to say that he would " be glad to interfere but with little hope of success, fearing that his father, and not he alone, will see his late conduct in a different point of view from what he sees it." The Duke fulfilled his promise and dined with Mr. Shelley at Horsham on November 10, having previously written a letter, " cordially worded," inviting Bysshe, Harriet, and Eliza Westbrook to visit him at Greystoke, his place in Cumberland, where they went on December 1 for a few days. It was a kindly act of the Duke to receive Bysshe and his wife, especially as it served to break the ice with Mr. Shelley, if it did not lead to a reconciliation with him.

The Duke showed much friendliness to his guests, was " quite charmed " with Eliza Westbrook, and invited several people to meet them, including William Calvert of Greta Bank, the son of one of his former stewards, and brother of Raisley Calvert, Words-

worth's generous benefactor. Shelley, who took to Calvert, wrote of him as "an elderly man who seemed to know all my concerns; and the expression of his face, whenever I held the arguments, which I do *everywhere*, was such as I shall not readily forget. I shall have more to tell of him, for we have met him before in these mountains, and his particular look then struck Harriet." Before he left the Lake District, Bysshe received much kindness from Mr. Calvert, with whom he was soon on terms of friendly intimacy.

Bysshe's finances were now in a bad state, and he was forced to think of ways and means. Mr. Westbrook had sent a small sum of money to his daughter, but with an intimation that no more was to be expected from him, and it was almost with Bysshe's last guinea that they were able to visit the Duke. So Bysshe wrote to Mr. Medwin for advice with regard to raising some money on his expectations, and asked for the loan of a small sum to meet his immediate expenses. He said, "We are now so poor as to be actually in danger of being deprived of the necessities of life." Medwin's reply to these inquiries was very likely unsatisfactory; the result of the visit to Greystoke was more promising. The Duke wrote to Mr. Shelley himself, and advised Bysshe also to write to his father and ask for pardon. The two following

letters to Timothy Shelley were printed by Professor Dowden in his *Life of Shelley*,[1] but as they form a link in Bysshe's correspondence with his father at this time, no excuse is made for reprinting them.

P. B. Shelley to Timothy Shelley

KESWICK, CUMBERLAND,
Dec. 13, 1811.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have lately returned from Greystoke, where I had been invited by the Duke of Norfolk that he might speak with me of the unhappy differences which some of my actions have occasioned. The result of his advice was that I should write a letter to you, the tone of whose expression should be sorrow that I should have wounded the feelings of persons so nearly connected with me. Undoubtedly I should thus express the real sense of my mind, for when convinced of my error no one is more ready to own that conviction than myself, nor to repair any injuries which might have resulted from a line of conduct which I had pursued.

On my expulsion from Oxford you were so good as to allow me £200 per annum; you also added a promise of my being unrestrained in the exercise of the completest free agency.

In consequence of this last I married a young lady whose personal character is unimpeachable. This action (admitting it to be done) in its very nature required dissimulation, much as I may regret that

[1] These letters were reprinted, with a hitherto unpublished passage restored to that of December 23, 1812, in the collected edition of *Shelley's Letters*, 1909.

I had condescended to employ it. My allowance was then withdrawn; I was left without money four hundred miles from one being I knew, every day liable to be exposed to the severest exile of penury. Surely something is to be allowed for human feelings, when you reflect that the letters you then received were written in this state of helplessness and derelic-tion. And now let me say that a reconciliation with you is a thing which I very much desire. Accept my apologies for the uneasiness which I have occasioned; believe that my wish to repair any uneasiness is firm and sincere.

I regard these family differences as a very great evil, and I much lament that I should in any wise have been instrumental in exciting them.

I hope you will not consider what I am about to say an insulting want of respect or contempt, but I think it my duty to say that, however great advantages might result from such concessions, I can make no promise of concealing my opinions in political or religious matters—I should consider myself culpable to excite any expectation in your mind which I should be unable to fulfil. What I have said is actu-ated by the sincerest wish of being again upon those terms with you which existed some time since. I have not employed hypocrisy to heighten the regret which I feel for having occasioned uneasiness. I have not employed meanness to concede what I consider it my duty to withhold. Such methods as these would be unworthy of us both. I hope you will consider what I have said, and I remain, dear Father, with sincerest wishes for our perfect right understanding, yours respectfully and affectionately,

P. B. Shelley.

Married Life

Timothy Shelley to P. B. Shelley

FIELD PLACE,
Dec. 19, 1811.

DEAR BYSSHE,—I am glad the visit to Greystoke Castle and the Society of that Nobleman, from whom I have experienc'd the kindest Friendship, has had the effect on your mind, to be convinc'd of the errors you have fallen into towards your Parents.

You withdrew yourself from my Protection, after having promis'd to enter into some Professional line which you then deem'd the choice of free agency upon an allowance of £200 pr. ann.

I hope and trust everything will in due time and proper Probation be brought to an excellent work.

I never can admit within my Family of the Principles that caus'd your expulsion from Oxford.—I remain, &c., T. S.

P. B. Shelley to Timothy Shelley

KESWICK (CUMBERLAND),
Dec. 23, 1811.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter which arrived last night gave me much pleasure. I hasten to acknowledge it, and to express my satisfaction that you should no longer regard me in an unfavourable light.

Mr. Westbrook at present allows for his daughter's subsistence £200 per annum, which prevents any situations occurring with similar unpleasantness as that at Edinburgh.

My principles still remain the same as those which caused my expulsion from Oxford. When questions which regard the subject are agitated in society, I

explain my opinions with coolness and moderation. You will not, I hope, object to my train of thinking. I could disguise it, but this would be falsehood and hypocrisy.

Believe that what I have said is dictated by the sincerest sentiments of respect.

I hope I shall sometimes have the pleasure of hearing from you, and that my mother and sisters are well. Mr. Whitton opened a letter addressed to the former. I know not what may be the precise state of that affair which is there alluded to, but I cannot consider myself blameable for having interfered.

I beg my love to my mother and sisters, and remain, with sentiments of respect, your affectionate son,

P. B. Shelley.

One may be sure that Mr. Westbrook's allowance of £200 a year was a godsend to the tenants of Chestnut Cottage, especially as it paved the way to a similar allowance from Mr. Shelley. But, notwithstanding Bysshe's straitened means, he was firm in his convictions as to the iniquity of entails. He had heard from Captain Pilfold, so he wrote to Miss Hitchener on December 15, of a "meditated proposal," on the part of his father and grandfather, to make his income immediately larger than Mr. Shelley's, on condition that he consented to entail the estate on his eldest son, and in default of male issue on his brother.[1] "Silly

[1] No evidence to support this statement has been discovered in the Shelley-Whitton papers.

dotards ! " he exclaimed ; " do they think I can be thus bribed and ground into an act of such contemptible injustice and inutility, that I will forswear my principles in consideration of £2000 a year, that the good-will I could thus purchase, or the ill-will I could thus overbear, would recompense me for the loss of self-esteem, of conscious rectitude ? And with what face can they make to me a proposal so insultingly hateful. Dare *one* of them propose such a condition to my face—to the face of any virtuous man—and not sink into nothing at his disdain ? That I should entail £120,000 of command over labour, of power to remit this, to employ it for beneficent purposes, on one whom I know not—who might, instead of being the benefactor of mankind, be its bane, or use this for the worst purposes, which the real delegate of my chance-given property might convert into a most useful instrument of benevolence ! No ! this *you* will not suspect me of. What I have told you will serve to put in its genuine light the grandeur of aristocratical distinctions, and to show that contemptible vanity will gratify its *unnatural* passion at the expense of every just, humane, and philanthropic consideration :

> " Tho' to a radiant angel linked,
> Will sate itself in a celestial bed,
> And prey on garbage."

Bysshe's expressed desire for a reconciliation with

his father was no doubt prompted to a great extent by his longing to see his sisters. It must have been a great blow to him when he was given to understand by his father's last letter that, so long as he entertained opinions such as had caused his expulsion from Oxford, he could not expect to be received under the paternal roof. Any hope, therefore, of seeing his sisters had vanished, for a time at least. What Bysshe wanted to know was whether they still cared for him, or whether they had all been influenced to consider him as bad as he appeared in his father's eyes. He had no hopes of Elizabeth, who had ceased to be one of the faithful, and he had realised now for some time that she had gone over to the enemy's side. But his little sister Hellen was otherwise; she who had befriended her schoolfellow, Harriet Westbrook, when none of the other girls at the school would speak to her, she, he thought, might be counted on to send some proof of affection for her outcast brother. Bysshe therefore wrote to Hellen, and, bearing in mind his father's vigilance in intercepting letters, he enclosed it in a note to his grandfather's huntsman, Allen Etheridge, who lived at Horsham; consequently his correspondence would not, as he thought, be liable to his father's inspection.

P. B. Shelley to Allen Etheridge

CHESTNUT COTTAGE, KESWICK,
[*Postmark:* KESWICK,
Dec. 16, 1811].

DEAR ALLEN,—As I think my Sisters are now at Field Place, I have enclosed you this letter. Put it into the Summer House at Field Place when no one sees you; and *when* you have put it there, contrive to let *Hellen* know that there is a letter for her there: contrive to let Hellen know, without letting anyone else know. This you had better manage by letting one of your little boys watch when she is alone, and tell her. But use your own discretion if you do not think this the best way. Remember, Allen, that I shall *not* forget you. How is your family going on? I hope they enjoy better health.—Yours, &c.

P. B. SHELLEY.

In the fold of the letter is written:

Do not let yourself be seen in it.

[Addressed in a disguised handwriting]:
Mr. ALLEN ETHERIDGE,
Huntsman to Sir B. Shelly, [sic]
Horsham,
Sussex.

P. B. Shelley to Hellen Shelley

[*Dec.* 16, 1811.]
SUMMER HOUSE—EVENING.

MY DEAR HELLEN,—"Shew this letter to no one." You remember that you once told me that you loved me. . . If you really love me, shew this letter to *no*

one, but answer it as you can. Remember this is the only proof I can now have that you *do* love me.

We are now at a great distance from each other, or at least we shall be: but that is no reason that I should forget that I am your brother, or you should forget that you are my sister. Everybody near you says that I have behaved very ill, and that I can love no one.

But how do you know that everything that is told you is true? A great many people tell a great many lies, and believe them, but that is no reason that you are to believe them. Because everybody else hates me, that is no reason that you should. Think for yourself, my dear girl, and write to me to tell me what you think. Where you are now, you cannot do as you please—you are obliged to submit to other people. They will not let you walk and read and think (if they knew your thoughts) just as you like, though you have as good a right to do it as they. But if you were with me, you would be with someone who loved you; you might run and skip, read, write, think just as you liked. Then, though you cannot now be with me, you can write, you can tell me what you think, and how you get on, on paper. Perhaps you cannot get a pen and ink, but you can get pencil, and this will do; and as nobody can suspect you, you may easily write, and put your letter into the Summer House, where I shall be sure to get it. I watch over you, though you do not think I am near.

I need not tell you how I love you. I know all that is said of me, but do not you believe it. You will perhaps think *I'm* the Devil, but, no, I am only your brother, who is obliged to be put to these shifts to get a letter from you.

How do you get on with your poetry, and what books do you read, for you know how anxious I am that you should improve in every way, though I don't think music or dancing of much consequence? *Thinking*, and thinking without letting anything but *reason* influence your mind, is the great thing. Some people would tell you that it would be wrong to write to me; but how do you know it is? They do not tell you *why* it is wrong. They would scold you for it, but this would not make it wrong. Let no one find out that I have written to you. Read this letter when no one sees you, and with attention. I have not written to Mary, because I know that she is not firm and determined like you; but if you think that she would not tell, give my love to her, and tell her to write to me.

I shall not say any more now. Write, and leave your letter in the Summer House. I shall be sure to get it if you go there alone and leave it.—Your very affectionate and true brother,

P. B. SHELLEY.

[Endorsed in disguised handwriting]:
(Open this when *alone*),
Miss *HELLEN* SHELLEY.

[Further endorsement in Sir Timothy's handwriting:]
In Dec., 1811, enclosed.

This pathetic appeal shared the fate of Bysshe's other letters to his family. Etheridge apparently took both of these epistles, dutiful servant that he was, to Mr. Shelley, who promptly sent them to his faithful Whitton.

Bysshe in the meantime remained at Keswick, but by the middle of December he was contemplating a visit from Miss Hitchener (which did not take place), and after it he was thinking of going to Ireland.

The year 1811, a fateful one in Bysshe's life, came to a close without any other noteworthy events. But in the early days of 1812, on January 3, he addressed his first letter to William Godwin, and, compared with this, no act in Shelley's career was more portentous. Shelley was not twenty, Godwin was nearly fifty-six, when this correspondence began. The younger man wrote without any introduction, having but recently learned that Godwin was still living. He approached him much as a neophyte might approach his favourite saint, whom he had found to be living after having venerated him as one of the dead. "The name of Godwin," he said, "has been used to excite in me feelings of reverence and admiration. I have been accustomed to consider him a luminary too dazzling for the darkness which surrounds him. From the earliest period of my knowledge of his principles, I have ardently desired to share, on the footing of intimacy, that intellect which I have delighted to contemplate in its emanations. Considering, then, these feelings, you will not be surprised at the inconceivable emotions with

which I learned your existence and your dwelling. I had enrolled your name in the list of the honourable dead. I had felt regret that the glory of your being had passed from this earth of ours. It is not so; you still live, and, I firmly believe, are still planning the welfare of human kind." Bysshe went on to tell Godwin that his "course had been short, but eventful"—which was certainly true—that he was young and ardent in the cause of philanthropy and truth. In short, he begged the philosopher to answer his letter and to think him not unworthy of his friendship, or, in other words, to allow him to sit at his feet.

Godwin's reply was not discouraging, but he complained of the generalising character of Shelley's letter. So Shelley wrote again at length on January 10, and gave some particulars of his life, his attempts at authorship, his opinions, and his expulsion from Oxford. Some references to his father are interesting, as showing how he viewed him at this time. "I am the son of a man of fortune in Sussex. The habits and thinking of my father and myself never coincided. Passive obedience was inculcated and enforced in my childhood. I was required to love, because it was *my duty* to love. It is scarcely necessary to remark that coercion obviated its own intention. . . . It will be necessary, in order to elucidate this part of my history, to inform you that I am heir by entail to an estate

of £6000 per annum. My principles have induced me to regard the law of primogeniture an evil of primary magnitude. My father's notions of family honour are incoincident with my knowledge of public good. I will never sacrifice the latter to any consideration. My father has ever regarded me as a blot, a defilement of his honour. He wished to induce me, by poverty, to accept of some commission in a distant regiment, and in the interim of my absence to prosecute the pamphlet, that a process of outlawry might make the estate, on his death, devolve to my younger brother."

It is hard to believe or, indeed, explain the statement in this last sentence. Perhaps, when Mr. Shelley had failed to induce Bysshe, after he was expelled from Oxford, to engage in politics, he had expressed, in desperation, either to him or to someone else the wish that he should go into the army. Most likely it was no more than a fragment of wild talk on the part of Timothy Shelley that had been retailed to his son.[1] Godwin now expressed " a deep and earnest

[1] " You mistake me if you think that I am angry with my father. I have ever been desirous of a reconciliation with him, but the price which he demands for it is a renunciation of my opinions, or, at least, a subjection to conditions which should bind me to act in opposition to their very spirit. It is probable that my father has *acted* for my welfare, but the manner in which he has done so will not allow me to suppose that he has *felt* for it, unconnectedly, with certain considerations of birth ; and feeling for these things was not feeling for me. I never loved my father—it was not from hardness of heart, for I have loved and do love warmly."—Shelley to Godwin, Keswick, January 16, 1812.

interest in the welfare" of his young correspondent, whose letters to the philosopher continued at frequent intervals.

During the past few years Shelley had been an enthusiastic student of Godwin's great work, of the essays in *The Enquirer*, and of his novels. The earliest of these books had been published when Shelley was in his cradle; the most recent were some years old. It was therefore not surprising that he had put Godwin down "in the list of the honourable dead."

It was more than fourteen years since William Godwin had lost his first wife, Mary Wollstonecraft, and eighteen years had elapsed since he had given to the world his *Enquiry concerning Political Justice and its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness*, the book that had brought him fame, but no fortune. Godwin had for some years retired from the excitement of a publicist's career, had married a second time, and was living the life of a philosopher, in retreat at Skinner Street, Holborn Hill, where the Viaduct now stands. His energies were divided between writing novels and producing books for a small publishing business known as the "Juvenile Library," of which his wife, Mary Jane Godwin, was manager. Charles and Mary Lamb were Godwin's friends and the chief authors of the Juvenile Library, in which

their *Tales from Shakespeare, Mrs. Leicester's School,* and Lamb's *Adventures of Ulysses* had first been published. Hazlitt had written for the Library an English Grammar, and Godwin himself compiled, under the name of "William Baldwin, Esq.," a few educational books. The publications of the Juvenile Library sold well, and the business ought to have been successful; but Godwin and his wife were hopeless muddlers, and the enterprise only launched them heavily into debt.

The Godwin household was a strangely miscellaneous one. There was (1) Godwin, whose philosophical calm remained unruffled notwithstanding the steadily rising waters of a flood of debts; (2) Mrs. Godwin, a malevolent woman with a shrewish tongue, and the especial abomination of Charles Lamb, who has immortalised her green spectacles. Then there was (3) Mary, the daughter of Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft; (4) Fanny Imlay (or Godwin, as she was called), the daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft and Imlay; Mrs. Godwin's two children by her first husband—(5) Clara Mary Jane, and (6) Charles Clairmont; and, lastly, William Godwin's son (7), William, by his second wife. It is not surprising that such a mixed family, confined to the narrow quarters over the shop in Skinner Street, found it at times difficult to live together in harmony. Things undoubtedly would have gone more

smoothly but for the disturbing element of Mrs. Godwin.

During January Bysshe was preparing for his visit to Ireland, his object being, as he told Godwin, " principally to *forward* as much as we can the Catholic Emancipation " ; he also intended to urge the necessity of repealing the Union. The last week at Keswick was spent under the roof of William Calvert, who, like Southey, did his best to dissuade Shelley from his proposed Irish campaign ; but Mrs. Calvert favoured the idea, and was hearty in her wishes for the success of Shelley and his party. He was himself sure of success, and expressed perfect confidence in the impossibility of failure.[1]

Mr. Shelley had now arranged for the resumption of his son's allowance, which, with a similar sum from Mr. Westbrook, was sufficient for Bysshe's needs. On receiving the sum of £100 from Whitton he was ready to start for Dublin, and, with Harriet and Eliza Westbrook, he probably left Keswick on Sunday, February 3, and embarked from Whitehaven for the Isle of Man. After being driven from thence by a storm to the north of Ireland, they reached Dublin on the night of February 13. Shelley had written while at Keswick *An Address to the Irish People*, which he printed soon after he arrived at Dublin,

[1] Shelley to Miss Hitchener, January 26, 1812.

and he fixed the price of the pamphlet at fivepence, "because," as he said in the advertisement, "it is the intention of the Author to awaken in the minds of the Irish poor a knowledge of their real state, summarily pointing out the evils of that state, and suggesting rational means of remedy—Catholic Emancipation and a Repeal of the Union Act (the latter, the most successful engine that England ever wielded over the misery of fallen Ireland) being treated of, in the following Address, as grievances which unanimity and resolution may remove, and associations, conducted with peaceable firmness, being earnestly recommended, as means for embodying that unanimity and firmness, which must finally be successful." As soon as it was printed, Bysshe threw copies of this pamphlet from the balcony of his lodgings in Lower Sackville Street. "I stand at the balcony of our window, and watch till I see a man *who looks likely*—I throw a book to him." Harriet wrote to Miss Hitchener: "I'm sure you would laugh were you to see us give the pamphlets. We throw them out of the window, and give them to men that we pass in the streets. For myself, I am ready to die of laughter when it is done, and Percy looks so grave; yesterday he put one into a woman's hood of a cloak. She knew nothing of it, and we passed her. I could hardly get on; my muscles were so irritated."

Bysshe sent a copy of the *Address* to Godwin through the post as a newspaper, "to save expense," as he said. It was charged as a letter, and the recipient had to pay a fine of £1, 1s. 8*d*., which he did philosophically. Others who suffered by Shelley's mode of conveying the pamphlet were Mr. Westbrook and Miss Hitchener. Perhaps Mr. Shelley was also a victim, as there is a copy of the *Address* among the Shelley-Whitton papers, with corrections in the author's hand.

Shelley wrote and printed another pamphlet, in the midst of much other activity, while in Dublin, with the following comprehensive title, "Proposals for an Association of those Philanthropists who, convinced of the inadequacy of the moral and political state of Ireland to produce benefits which are nevertheless attainable, are willing to unite to accomplish its regeneration."

Among the Shelley-Whitton papers there is a copy of the Dublin *Weekly Messenger* for Saturday, March 7, 1812, with the following article, marked in red pencil, headed:

"*Pierce Byshe Shelly, Esq.* [sic]

"The highly interesting appearance of this young gentleman at the late Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland has naturally excited a spirit of inquiry as to his objects and views in coming forward

at *such* a meeting; and the publications which he has circulated with such uncommon industry, through the Metropolis, has set curiosity on the wing to ascertain who he is, from whence he comes, and what his pretensions are to the confidence he solicits and the character he assumes. To those who have read the productions we have alluded to, we need bring forward no evidence of the cultivation of his mind, the benignity of his principles, or the peculiar fascination with which he seems able to recommend them.

"Of this gentleman's family we can say but little, but we can set down what we have heard from respectable authority: that his father is a member of the Imperial Parliament, and that this young gentleman whom we have seen is the *immediate* heir of one of the *first* fortunes in England. Of his principles and his manners we can say more, because we can collect from conversation, as well as from reading, that he seems devoted to the propagation of those divine and Christian feelings which purify the human heart, give shelter to the poor and consolation to the unfortunate: that he is the *bold* and *intrepid* advocate of those principles which are calculated to give energy to truth, and to depose from their guilty eminence the bad and vicious passions of a corrupt community; that a universality of charity is *his* object, and a perfectibility of human society *his* end, which cannot be attained by the *conflicting* dogmas of religious sects, *each* priding itself on the extinction of the *other*, and *all* existing by the mutual misfortunes which flow from polemical warfare. The principles of this young gentleman embrace *all* sects and all persuasions. His doctrines, *political* and *religious*,

may be accommodated to *all;* every friend to true Christianity will be his religious friend, and every enemy to the liberties of Ireland will be his *political* enemy. The weapons he wields are those of reason and the most *social benevolence.* He deprecates violence in the accomplishment of his views, and relies upon the mild and merciful spirit of toleration for the completion of all his designs and the consummation of all his wishes. To the religious bigot such a *missionary of truth* is a formidable opponent; by the political monopolist he will be considered the child of Chimera, the creature of fancy, an imaginary legislator who presumes to make laws without reflecting upon his *materials,* and despises those considerations which have baffled the hopes of the most philanthropic and the efforts of the most wise. It is true, human nature may be too depraved for such a hand as Mr. Shelly's to form to anything that is good, or liberal, or beneficent. Let him but take down *one* of the rotten pillars by which society is *now* propped, and substitute the purity of his own principles, and Mr. Shelly shall have done a great and lasting service to human nature. To this gentleman Ireland is much indebted for selecting *her* as the theatre of his first attempts in this holy work of human regeneration. The Catholics in Ireland should listen to him with respect, because they will find that an enlightened Englishman has interposed between the treason of their own countrymen and the almost conquered spirit of their country; that Mr. Shelly has come to Ireland to demonstrate in his person that there are hearts in his own country not rendered callous by six hundred years of injustice; and that the genius of freedom, which has communicated comfort and

content to the cottage of the Englishman, has found its way to the humble roof of the Irish peasant, and promises by its presence to dissipate the sorrows of past ages, to obliterate the remembrance of persecution, and close the long and wearisome scene of centuries of human depression. We extract from Mr. Shelly's last production, which he calls *Proposals for an Association, &c. &c.*"

After quoting some extracts from this pamphlet, the writer continues:

"We have but one more word to add. Mr. Shelly, commiserating the sufferings of our distinguished countryman, Mr. Finerty, whose exertions in the cause of political freedom he much admired, wrote a very beautiful poem, the profits of which, we understand from *undoubted* authority, Mr. Shelly remitted to Mr. Finerty; we have heard they amounted to nearly a hundred pounds. This fact speaks a volume in favour of our new friend." [1]

Perhaps the reason for the copy of this paper being among Whitton's papers is that it may have been sent to Mr. Shelley by Bysshe. The proceedings of the meeting which took place on Friday, February 28, at the Fishamble Street Theatre were noticed in several Irish papers and in the London *Morning Chronicle*, which said the theatre "was brilliantly illuminated. . . . The boxes were filled with ladies,

[1] See *ante*, p. 150.

full dressed, and the whole is represented as having a very imposing effect." The articles from the *Weekly Messenger*, and reports from other Dublin papers, are given in the late Mr. D. F. MacCarthy's work, *Shelley's Early Life*, which contains a full account of the Irish expedition.

Another reference to Shelley's doings in Ireland, preserved with the Shelley-Whitton papers, is the following cutting from a Lewes newspaper, on which Mr. Shelley wrote, "Lewes Paper, 1st June, 1812." Apparently it relates to the *Address to the Irish People*, and it was perhaps forwarded to the editor by Miss Hitchener, as Shelley wrote to her on March 10, "Send me the Sussex papers. Insert, or make them insert, the account of *me*. It may have a good effect on the minds of the people, as a preparation." Harriet adds in her contribution to the same letter, "Send us the paper in which you have inserted the *Address*."

The editor of the Lewes paper, however, did not take kindly to the suggestion, and declined to fill his columns with Shelley's pamphlet. He said:

"We have been favoured with the address of P. B. S., Esq., and entertain no doubt of his benevolent and humane intentions. Nevertheless, after due consideration, we are of opinion that any especial notice of the accompanying letter would have a tendency to defeat the ends he has in view, as a public exposure of the accused parties, however just, might

irritate their minds and lead them to direct, with greater severity, the lash of tyranny and oppression against the object of his commiseration, who appears to be completely within their power."

Shelley was evidently anxious that his friends in Sussex should hear of his activities in Ireland. He wrote on March 20 to the elder Medwin: "As you will see by the Lewes paper, I am in the midst of overwhelming engagements." The news had already reached Field Place if he sent his father the copy of his pamphlet, and Whitton had probably received it when he wrote to Sir Bysshe on March 5: "I was much concerned to hear your account of Mr. Timothy Shelley [who was evidently ill]. His son is in Dublin, publishing some hints for bettering the state of the nation."

Shelley spent a part of his time in preparing a volume of poems for the press and in endeavouring to get them published, but the Dublin publisher to whom he applied held up the MS., and the book was never printed during the author's lifetime. Some seventy years later, Shelley's grandson, Mr. Charles Esdaile, who subsequently owned the MS., allowed Professor Dowden to print extracts from the poems in his *Life of Shelley*.

Shelley also managed to make some acquaintances during his sojourn in the Irish capital, one of whom

was John Lawless, or "honest Jack Lawless," as he was called by his friends, who was perhaps responsible for the article on the young politician in the *Weekly Messenger*. Curran was another, and a greater, Irishman whom he met through the introduction of Godwin.

Godwin, indeed, who was never long out of Shelley's mind, was the recipient of many letters which kept him posted with intelligence concerning the progress of the campaign. Shelley, moreover, acquainted Godwin with his opinions generally, his views on life, and the doings of his domestic circle.

"You speak of my wife," he said; "she desires with me to you, and to all connected with you, her best regards. She is a woman whose pursuits, hopes, fears, and sorrows were so similar to my own that we married a few months ago. I hope in the course of this year to introduce her to you and yours, as I have introduced myself to you. It is only to those who have had some share in making me what I am that I can be thus free. Adieu! You will hear from me shortly. Give my love and respects to everyone with whom you are connected. I feel myself almost at your fireside. . . . I send the little book for which I was expelled. I have not changed my sentiments. I know that Milton believed Christianity, but I do not forget that Virgil believed ancient mythology."

Godwin told Shelley that he had read his letters

(" the first perhaps excepted ") " with peculiar interest." As far as he had been able to penetrate his character, he conceived " it to exhibit an extraordinary assemblage of lovely qualities, not without considerable defects." The source of the defects, he thought, was that Shelley was very young, and that, in essential respects, he did not sufficiently perceive that he was so. Godwin expressed his disagreement with the principles set forth by Shelley in his pamphlets as strongly as he disapproved of his visit to Ireland, and he regretted that the effect of *Political Justice* on his young friend should have resulted in his campaign. He said, " Shelley, you are preparing a scene of blood ! If your associations take effect to any extensive degree, tremendous consequences will follow, and hundreds, by their calamitous and premature fate, will expiate your error." Godwin continued, " I wish to my heart you would come immediately to London. I have a friend who has contrived a tube to convey passengers sixty miles an hour. Be youth your tube ! I have a thousand things I could say orally, more than I can say in a letter on this important subject. Away ! You cannot imagine how much all the females of my family, Mrs. G. and three daughters, are interested in your letters and history."

Shelley was either tired of his Irish expedition, or,

as he told Godwin, he was ready to take the advice of his guide, philosopher, and friend—to whom he wrote on March 19 that he had already withdrawn the circulation of his publications wherein he had erred, and that he was preparing to quit Dublin.

The Shelleys left Dublin on April 4, and after a rough passage of thirty-six hours (instead of twelve, as they had expected) they reached Holyhead. On April 7 they began a journey across Wales in search of a house, and their wanderings led them to Nantgwillt, Rhayader, Radnorshire, in South Wales, a district already familiar to Shelley through his visit to his cousins, the Groves. The place that he settled in was a farm of about 200 acres, with a good house, at a yearly rent of £98, which he thought "abundantly cheap," and so it may have been, had he intended to turn farmer and live up to the description which he had given himself when he was married at Edinburgh. The proprietor of the house was a bankrupt, and his assignees had offered the lease, stock, and furniture of the premises to Shelley, who was "anxious to purchase." So anxious was he to take advantage of this offer that he wrote on April 25 to Medwin that the assignees were willing to give him credit for eighteen months or longer, as his being a minor his signature was invalid. "Would you object to join your name to my bond, or, rather, to pledge yourself

for my standing by the agreement when I come of age? The sum is likely to be six or seven hundred pounds." The Horsham lawyer no doubt refused, as he had already made enough trouble for himself with Mr. Shelley by lending Bysshe money on the eve of his departure for Edinburgh. The day before writing this letter to Medwin he had sent the following to his father:

P. B. Shelley to Timothy Shelley

NANTGWILT, RHAYADER,
RADNORSHIRE,
April 24, 1812.

DEAR SIR,—The last of your communications through Mr. Whitton put a period to any immediate prospect of coming to those amicable terms on which I wish to stand with yourself and my family. It has at last occurred to me that the probable cause of the offence which you so suddenly took, was a clandestine attempt on my part to correspond with Hellen. You very well know that I could not correspond with any of my sisters openly, and that it is very natural for me to attempt to keep alive in one at least an affection when all the others are at variance with one. An additional motive was that my correspondence would have been such as is calculated to improve the understanding and expand the heart. I am now at Nantgwilt in Radnorshire, and being desirous to settle with my wife in a retired spot, think of taking this house and farm. The farm is about 200 acres, the house a very good one, the yearly rent £98.

The furniture and the stock must, however, be purchased, which will cost £500. This sum, if I were to raise it, would not be obtained under exorbitant interest, and probably, at all events, with difficulty. If you would advance it to me, I should at once, by your means, be settled where my yearly income would *amply* suffice, which would otherwise be dissipated in searching for a situation where it might maintain myself and my wife. You have now an opportunity of settling the heir to your property where he may quietly and gentlemanly pursue those avocations which are calculated hereafter to render him no disgrace to your family on a more extended theatre of action.

If you feel inclined to assist me with the sum for the purposes I mention, and it is inconvenient to give any ready money, your name for the amount would suffice.

I am now at the house of Mr. Hooper (Nantgwilt), who has become bankrupt, and with whose assignees I am treating for the lease, furniture, &c. If you will accede to my request, or if you reject it, pray be so kind as to inform me as soon as you can make it convenient, as I am at present in a state of suspense which is far from pleasant.

Your daughter-in-law is confined by a tedious intermittent fever, which considerably augments the gloomy feelings incident to our unsettled state. I hope that all at Field Place are in good health.—Dear Sir, yours very respectfully,

PERCY B. SHELLEY.

[Addressed]:
T. SHELLEY, Esq., M.P.,
Field Place,
Horsham, Sussex.

[Readdressed]:
Miller's Hotel,
Westminster Bridge.

Mr. Shelley replied curtly to the letter through Whitton, on May 5, that he declined making the advance that Bysshe had mentioned, or to give any security.

In their letters to Elizabeth Hitchener she had received frequent appeals from Bysshe and Harriet to visit, or, indeed, to take up her residence with them. They asked her to come to Keswick, and when she was unable to accept their invitation, it was decided that on their return from Ireland she should pay her long-deferred visit in Wales. She still hesitated, because to be absent from her school for any length of time would necessitate closing it.

Miss Hitchener had evidently broached the subject to Mrs. Pilfold, and spoken in glowing terms of her ardent young correspondent. Mrs. Pilfold could make nothing of this platonic friendship, and chose to add a questionable colour to it. She was anxious not to lose her schoolmistress, and was determined to stop Miss Hitchener's visit to the Shelleys. Busybodies were soon active at Cuckfield, and Miss Hitchener was quick to communicate the scandal to Bysshe. He was depressed when these unwelcome tidings reached him, for Harriet was ill with a bilious fever, so he wrote to his friend: "A week ago I said, 'Give me Nantgwilt; fix me in this spot, so retired, so lovely, so fit for the seclusion of those who think

and feel. Fate, I ask no more.' Little *then* did I expect my Harriet's illness, or that flaming opposition which the mischievous and credulous around you are preparing against the most cherished wishes of my heart. Now I say, 'Fate, give my Harriet health, give my *Portia* peace, and I will excuse the remainder of my requisition.' Oh, my beloved friend, let not the sweet cup be dashed from the lips of those who alone can appreciate the luxury, at the instant that Fate has yielded it to their power!"[1] He referred to the subject in his next letter to "Portia" (the name that Bysshe and Harriet had given to Eliza Hitchener): "And so our dear friends are *determined to destroy our peace of mind* if we live together—determined, all for our good, to make us *all* the most miserable wretches on earth. Now this, it must be confessed, is truly humane and condescending. But how is it to be managed? Where will they begin? In what manner will they destroy our peace of mind without eradicating that conscious integrity whence it springs?" Bysshe had written to the Captain and to Miss Hitchener's father to try and allay the scandal. The Captain's reply was that reports were current such as Miss Hitchener had described, but "he professed to disbelieve the 'Mistress' business, but asserted that I certainly was

[1] Shelley to Miss Hitchener, May 1, 1812.

very much attached to you. I certainly should feel quite as much inclined to deny my own existence as to deny this latter charge ; altho' I took care to assure him that, in the vague sense which he had annexed to the word '*love*,' he was utterly mistaken." [1]

The result of this gossip was to further postpone Portia's visit. For one thing, Shelley had not been successful in coming to any arrangement for the possession of Nantgwillt, as the possessor was not disposed to let him remain without security, which he was unable to obtain. He had decided to go for a short time to the Groves at Cwm Elan, but before he left Nantgwillt he wrote to his grandfather. He may have thought that if he could produce a letter from Sir Bysshe stating what he was prepared to do for him, that it might be accepted as a security by the possessor of the Nantgwillt property.

P. B. Shelley to Sir Bysshe Shelley

NANTGWILT, RHAYADER,
RADNORSHIRE, S.W.,
June 2, 1812.

SIR,—I take the liberty of writing to you in consequence of a *hint* which I have recieved [*sic*], preferring in cases of importance to negociate with principals.

I had heard that you designed, on my coming of age, to enter into some terms with me, respecting

[1] Shelley to Miss Hitchener, May 7, 1812.

money matters, which terms, if at all compatible with my own interest, believe me I shall be ready to accede to.

Altho' at present in circumstances that very much require assistance, I do not venture to ask for any remittance from you, knowing that all acts of a minor are void in law, but you would very much oblige me if you would state to me the nature of the terms about to be proposed on the expiration of my minority, to which I am not so adverse as I may have been represented.

I am now about to take the place whence I date this letter.—I remain, with much respect, your aff. Grandson, P. B. Shelley.

[Addressed]:
Sir Bysshe Shelley, Bt.,
Horsham,
Sussex.

After a short stay at Cwm Elan, the Shelleys moved to Lynmouth. While they were there, Bysshe issued from the office of a Barnstaple printer his "Letter to Lord Ellenborough, occasioned by the Sentence which he passed on Mr. D. I. Eaton, as Publisher of the Third Part of Paine's *Age of Reason*." In this little pamphlet Shelley first gave proof of his gifts as a writer of prose. It was, however, as short-lived as *The Necessity of Atheism*. The printer, on examining the contents of the pamphlet, destroyed most of the impression, and all save one[1] of seventy-five copies

[1] This unique copy is now in the Bodleian Library.

which Shelley despatched to his friend Hookham, the Bond Street publisher, met a similar fate.

Shelley had caused to be printed, probably while he was in Dublin, a broadside which he described as a "Declaration of Rights," consisting of a number of sentences, drawn up in the form of appeals to the people similar to those placarded on the walls and houses of Paris during the French Revolution. His hurried departure from Ireland, and Godwin's grave warning, had probably decided him not to make use of this form of propaganda in Dublin. He was, however, unable to withstand the temptation of trying the effect of the broadsides on the people of Devon, and he engaged a man to fix them on the walls of Barnstaple. The man was arrested and sentenced to a fine of £200 or six months' imprisonment. Shelley, who was unable to meet the fine, promised to pay a sum of fifteen shillings a week in consideration of a mitigation of the sentence. This was one of the causes that brought Shelley's visit to Lynmouth to an end.

Miss Hitchener, who was no longer able to withstand Bysshe's insistent invitations, decided to visit her friends at Lynmouth. Accordingly she closed her school, started on her journey, and in passing through London supped and slept at the Godwins' house on

July 14. It is possible that the pleasure anticipated by Shelley in having her under his roof was speedily abated, if it was ever realised. Harriet was evidently not much impressed with her guest when she wrote on August 4 to Catherine Nugent, an acquaintance whom she had made in Dublin: "Our friend, Miss Hitchener, is come to us. She is very busy writing for the good of mankind. She is very dark in complexion, with a great quantity of black hair. She talks a great deal. If you like great talkers, she will suit you. She is taller than me or my sister, and as thin as it is possible to be. I hope you will see her some day."

Very soon Harriet began to suspect that Portia was in love with Bysshe, who, so far from reciprocating these feelings, now doubted her republicanism and sincerity. It was a painful position for the poor woman; her head had been turned by her young friend's passionate letters, and she was unable to live up to the ideal that he had created of her.

The Shelleys hastily left Lynmouth apparently towards the end of August, and, crossing the Bristol Channel, settled at length near Tremadoc in a house called Tanyrallt. Here Bysshe found a fresh field for his energies. His landlord, Mr. W. A. Maddocks, M.P., had reclaimed from the sea a large tract of marshland in Carnarvonshire, and had built upon it the new

town of Tremadoc, which had been named after its enterprising founder. At the time of Shelley's visit to the town an embankment was in the course of construction to protect Tremadoc from danger of destruction by the sea. Shelley became keenly interested in the fate of the embankment, and besides canvassing the neighbourhood for subscriptions, he headed the list with a sum of £100, and went up to London with his wife, Eliza Westbrook, and Miss Hitchener to forward his object. Bysshe applied to the Duke of Norfolk for a contribution, but, according to Hogg, the Duke politely declined, excusing himself on the score of having no funds at his immediate disposal.[1]

Bysshe was now as anxious to arrange the departure of Miss Hitchener as he had been to welcome her under his roof. It was no easy task, but at last she was induced to leave on or before November 8, having received the promise of an allowance of £100

[1] Shelley was so embarrassed at this time for want of money that he appears to have been actually arrested for debt. The only available information on this subject is contained in a letter, dated June 12, 1844, from William Roberts, a surgeon of Carnarvon, to Peacock, Shelley's executor. Roberts stated that some thirty years previously Shelley was arrested at Carnarvon for a sum of money which he owed, and he would have been sent to gaol if Roberts had not bailed him for the amount. Roberts, who thus became acquainted with Shelley and visited him at Tremadoc, lent him £30, which sum he never paid, but he discharged the debt for which he was arrested. In another letter addressed to Sir Timothy Shelley on February 7, 1824, Roberts asked for the payment of a sum of £6, which he said was owing to him from Shelley.

a year. " ' The Brown Demon,' " wrote Bysshe, on December 3, to Hogg (with whom he was now reconciled), " as we now call our late tormentor and schoolmistress, must receive her stipend. I pay it with a heavy heart and an unwilling hand ; but it must be so. She was deprived by our misjudging haste of a situation, where she was going on smoothly ; and now she says that her reputation is gone, her health ruined, her peace of mind destroyed by my barbarity—a complete victim to all the woes, mental and bodily, that heroine ever suffered ! This is not all fact ; but certainly she is embarrassed and poor, and we, being in some degree the cause, we ought to obviate it." That he thought her " artful, superficial, ugly," and worse, was no excuse for Bysshe's treatment of his former friend. He declared that his astonishment at his fatuity, inconsistency, and bad taste was never so great as after living four months with her as an inmate. " What would Hell be," he added, " were such a woman in Heaven ? "

CHAPTER XIV

PARTING FROM HARRIET

Shelley meets Mary Godwin—The assault at Tanyrallt—Ireland revisited—*Queen Mab*—The birth of Ianthe—London—Duke of Norfolk—The Godwins—J. F. Newton—Mrs. Boinville—Bracknell—Shelley revisits the Lakes and Edinburgh—T. L. Peacock—Elephantiasis—Money difficulties—Shelley's last visit to Field Place—Shelley remarried—Mary Godwin—Shelley takes leave of Harriet.

WHILE Shelley and Harriet were in London during the autumn of 1812, they did not omit to visit the Godwins, and they saw them frequently; but a dinner at their house on October 11 calls for particular attention. It was on this occasion that Bysshe probably met Mary Godwin, his future wife, for the first time. She had been spending the summer with her friends, the Baxters, in Scotland, but she returned home on the previous day. Mary, who had at the time but lately passed her fifteenth year, perhaps did not specially attract Bysshe's attention.

By the first week in December Bysshe had left London and was back at Tanyrallt, where he remained with Harriet and Eliza Westbrook till the following March. His departure was precipitated by an assault

made on him during the night of February 26, 1813, by a half-witted sheep-farmer.

For ninety-two years the mystery of this attack remained unsolved, and the account of it given by Bysshe, which is now proved to have been correct, has been described by many of the poet's biographers as either an hallucination of his brain or a trick to escape from his creditors at Tremadoc. Miss Margaret L. Crofts contributed to the *Century Magazine* for October 1905 a well-attested account of Shelley's adventure. In his wanderings over the mountains he had sometimes come on sheep that were dying of scab or some other lingering disease, and out of pity for these helpless creatures he would put an end to their sufferings by a kindly shot from the pistol which he usually carried. A rough Welsh mountain sheep-farmer was so exasperated by Shelley's well-meant ministrations that he and his friends went down to Tanyrallt one stormy night in February, and the farmer discharged a shot through the window with the intention of giving Shelley a good fright. Shelley fired, but his pistol flashed in the pan, whereupon the farmer entered the room, wrestled with him, and finally knocked him down. The rough face and figure of the farmer gave Shelley the impression that he saw the devil when he looked out at the man standing by a beech tree. The assailants gained their end, for

Shelley, Harriet, and her sister left the house the next day and journeyed to Bangor on their way to Ireland.

After a stormy passage Shelley with the two ladies reached Dublin on March 9. Their object in revisiting the Irish capital was apparently nothing more than a desire to get away from the scenes of that ugly night at Tremadoc. During his previous visit Shelley had been too busy to see any of the beauties of Irish scenery, but on this occasion he made good the omission by going to Lake Killarney, where, according to Hogg, he occupied a cottage. The place made a deep and lasting impression on him, for he wrote to Peacock from Milan, some years after, that "Lake Como exceeds anything that I ever beheld in beauty, with the exception of the Arbutus Islands of Killarney."

Hogg had been invited to visit Shelley at Tanyrallt, but owing to the poet's hasty flight from that place, it was abandoned, and he was asked to come to Dublin. He journeyed to the Irish capital, only to find that the Shelleys had gone to Killarney, and after waiting a week or ten days for them he returned to England, vexed at his fruitless quest.

During his sojourn at Dublin, Shelley had sent Hookham the manuscript of *Queen Mab*, the writing of which had occupied him for some months. He had referred to the poem in his letter to Hookham of August 18, 1812, and enclosed, by way of specimen,

all that he had written of it at that date. He said, "I conceive that I have matter enough for six more cantos. You will perceive that I have not attempted to temper my constitutional enthusiasm in that poem. Indeed, a poem is safe; the iron-souled Attorney-General would scarcely dare to attack it. The Past, the Present, and the Future are the grand and comprehensive topics of this poem. I have not yet exhausted the second of them." He proposed to make the notes to *Queen Mab* long, philosophical, and anti-Christian, and to take the opportunity, he judged a safe one, of propagating his principles, which, he said, "I decline to do syllogistically in a poem. A poem very didactic is, I think, very stupid." He wished to have "only 250 copies printed, in a small neat quarto on fine paper, and so as to catch the aristocrats. They will not read it, but their sons and daughters may." Hookham, who probably superintended the printing of the poem, in small octavo, did not put his name to it nor that of the actual printer. The title-page of the volume, which was issued privately by Shelley, bears his own name as printer with the address of his father-in-law, 23 Chapel Street, Grosvenor Square, and the famous epigraph from Voltaire's correspondence, "Ecrasez l'infame."

Towards the end of March Shelley and Harriet departed for Dublin in great haste, and left Miss

Westbrook at Killarney with a large library, but without money, so that, as Hogg said, she might not be tempted to discontinue her studies. By April 5, Shelley and his wife were in London at Chapel Street, and after staying for a few days at an hotel in Albemarle Street they took lodgings in Half-Moon Street, where they remained for several months. Hogg describes a little projecting window in the house, in which Shelley might be seen from the street all day long, book in hand, with lively gestures and bright eyes, so that Mrs. Newton said, "He wanted only a pan of clear water and a fresh turf to look like some young lady's lark hanging outside for air and song." [1]

During the summer of this year (1813), when the Shelleys were living somewhere in Pimlico, Harriet gave birth to her first-born, a girl, who was named Ianthe Elizabeth. Apparently Ianthe was of Shelley's choosing, after the Lady in *Queen Mab;* Elizabeth was the name of his favourite sister as well also as that of Harriet's sister. Ianthe Shelley, who became Mrs. Esdaile, died in June 1876, and her descendants are Shelley's only living representatives.

Once more Bysshe wrote to his father in the hope of a reconciliation, and, according to a statement in one of Harriet's letters, he expected to be forgiven.

[1] Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 389.

She said that Mr. Shelley's family were very eager to be reconciled to Bysshe. Mr. Shelley's reply, however, was unfavourable.

P. B. Shelley to Timothy Shelley

Cooke's Hotel,
Albemarle St.,
May 4, 1813.

My dear Father,—I once more presume to address you to state to you my sincere desire of being considered as worthy of a restoration to the intercourse of yourself and your family, which I forfeited by my follies.

Some time since I stated my feelings on this subject in a letter to the Duke of Norfolk. I was agreeably surprised by a visit from him the other day, and much regretted that illness prevented me from keeping my appointment with him on the succeeding morning. If, however, I could convince you of the change that has taken place in some of the most unfavourable traits of my character and of my willingness to make any concession that may be judged best for the interest of my family, I flatter myself that there would be little further need of his Grace's interference.

I hope the time is approaching when we shall consider each other as father and son with more confidence than ever, and that I shall no longer be a cause of disunion to the happiness of my family. I was happy to hear from John Grove, who dined with us yesterday, that you continue in good health. My wife unites with me in respectful regards.[1]

[1] From Hogg's *Life of Shelley*.

Mr. Shelley replied in a letter, prompted by his solicitor,[1] that put an end to any hopes that Bysshe may have entertained.

Timothy Shelley to P. B. Shelley

MILLER'S HOTEL,
May 26, 1813.

MY DEAR BOY,—I am sorry to find by the contents of your letter of yesterday that I was mistaken in the conclusion I drew from your former letter, in which you had assured me that a change had taken place in some of the most unfavourable Traits in your Character, as what regards your avow'd opinions are in my Judgment the most material parts of Character requiring amendment; and as you now avow there is no change effected in them, I must decline all further Communication, or any Personal Interview, until that shall be Effected, and I desire you will consider this as my final answer to anything you may have to offer.

If that Conclusion had not operated on my mind to give this answer, I desire you also to understand that I should not have received any Communication but through His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, as I know his exalted mind will protect me at the moment, and with the World. I beg to return all usual remembrance.—I am, Yr. Affecti. Father,

T. SHELLEY.

Bysshe wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, on May 28, to thank him for the warm interest that he had taken

[1] Whitton in his minute book writes on May 20, 1813: "Letter to Mr. Shelley advising on the letter to P. B."

in his concerns, and expressing regret that he should have occupied his time in "the vain and impossible task of reconciling" him and his father. Bysshe was prepared to make every reasonable concession to Mr. Shelley, but he was not, he said, "so degraded and miserable a slave as publicly to disavow an opinion which I believe to be true." Bysshe enclosed his father's reply, with this letter, for the Duke's inspection.

Bysshe came of age on August 4, 1813, but apparently he now had small prospect of immediately obtaining a settlement as regards his affairs. He had some debts, contracted in view of being in a position to liquidate them on attaining his majority, and they were now pressing. Despite Mr. Shelley's threat that he would not receive his son, Bysshe managed to see his father and to tell him that he had heard that efforts were on foot to deprive him of his interest in the estates under the will of his great-uncle, John Shelley. This was, of course, a baseless rumour. Mr. Shelley received his son kindly, but the interview had no beneficial result for him. Field Place was still forbidden ground, although Bysshe managed to correspond with his sisters and mother, from whom he received letters, his mother keeping him posted up in all the news regarding his father's movements.

Bysshe found much to interest him in town. *Queen Mab* was probably now about to be issued, and he

would constantly be in and out of the shop of Thomas Hookham, the friendly little publisher of New Bond Street, who apparently superintended the printing of the poem. The book was printed for private circulation, and Bysshe distributed the copies himself, but before doing so he cut out from many of them the title-page and the imprint at the end of the volume, as in both places his name appeared as the printer. This precaution was taken in order to avoid the danger of prosecution. From most of the copies that passed through his hands, the deeply appreciative dedication to Harriet was also removed. The volume bears the date of 1813, but as far as I am aware there is no published evidence as to the exact month when it was ready. The removal of the dedication by the author may indicate that it was put into circulation at the end of 1813, or possibly the beginning of 1814, when Shelley and Harriet were drifting apart, or that the copies so treated by him were distributed during, or after, that painful period of his life.

Bysshe and his wife did not see much of Godwin because, as Harriet wrote to Miss Nugent, "his wife is so dreadfully disagreeable that I could not bear the idea of seeing her. Mr. S. has done that away, tho', by telling G. that I could not bear the society of his darling wife. Poor man, we are not the only people who find her troublesome."

Through Godwin, however, Shelley had made the acquaintance, when he visited London in the autumn of 1812, of John Frank Newton, author of *The Return to Nature, or a Defence of the Vegetable Regimen*, 1811. With his strong leanings towards vegetarianism Shelley was attracted to Newton and his book, and made use of the former in his vegetarian note in *Queen Mab*, which was subsequently printed as a separate pamphlet as *A Vindication of Natural Diet.*

At the Newtons' house in Chester Square Bysshe was admitted to a circle of people whose tastes and ideas he found very congenial. Besides Newton and his wife there were Mrs. Boinville, sister to Mrs. Newton, and her daughter Cornelia, who afterwards became Mrs. Turner. In a letter from Shelley to Hogg belonging to the summer of 1813, he speaks of what was undoubtedly for him an unusual diversion : late hours and Vauxhall Gardens. " Last night your short note arrived, also beyond its hour, and the Newtons had already taken me with them. This night the Newtons have a party at Vauxhall ; if you will call here at nine o'clock we will go together."

In July Shelley, Harriet, and the inevitable Eliza went to Bracknell, where they took a furnished house, " High Elms," with the intention of remaining there until the following spring. The Newtons had been kind and helpful to Shelley, and Mrs. Boinville,

who was especially interested in him, moved to Bracknell, where the intimacy of the two families continued. Mrs. Boinville and Mrs. Newton were the daughters of a wealthy West Indian planter who resided in England. His house was the resort of many a French *émigré*, and one of them, M. de Boinville, a man of position whose property had been confiscated, declared his love to Miss Collins, but, as the match was objected to by her father, they eloped, and were married at Gretna Green, and afterwards according to the rites of the Church of England. M. de Boinville went to Russia with Napoleon, and died during the retreat from Moscow in 1813, and shortly afterwards Mrs. Boinville lost her father. Her hair had become quite white through this double sorrow, but her face still retained much of its youthful beauty, and Shelley had named her Maimuna, after the lady in Southey's *Thalaba*, for

> "Her face was as a damsel's face,
> And yet her hair was grey."

Shelley was becoming restless again towards the autumn of 1813. He gave up his house at Bracknell, and his thoughts turned once more towards Wales, but early in October he seems to have contemplated revisiting the Lakes. He had procured a carriage some months before, and in this he travelled north

with Harriet, their little daughter, and Thomas Love Peacock. They went by way of Warwick, and after a week's journey from London they reached Low Wood Inn, near Windermere. After visiting the Calverts at Keswick, and failing to obtain a house, they decided on Edinburgh, and arrived there some days later.

Peacock, who was on a visit to Bracknell when Shelley persuaded him to accompany him on this journey, tells us that he saw the poet for the first time in 1812 just before he went to Tanyrallt. Shelley, in a letter to Hogg from Edinburgh, thus describes Peacock, with whose poetry he was already familiar, and it had won his admiration, but his estimate of the man was not very enthusiastic. "A new acquaintance is on a visit with us this winter. He is a very mild, agreeable man, and a good scholar. His enthusiasm is not very ardent, nor his views very comprehensive: but he is neither superstitious, ill-tempered, dogmatical, or proud."

When Shelley became better acquainted with Peacock he appreciated to the full the good qualities of the "laughing philosopher." Peacock seems to have taken more trouble than any other of Shelley's friends to induce him to find pleasure in some of the good things of this world, which he was inclined to neglect, partly owing to his habits of seclusion. Peacock interested himself in Shelley's Greek studies, and some

years later took him to the opera, and endeavoured to induce him to cultivate a more generous diet : his prescription was " two mutton chops well peppered." The diet agreed with the poet, and he was not averse from the opera, but he went on with neither. It is possible that Peacock appreciated Shelley more than his poetry : this seems to have been the case with most of Bysshe's friends ; Byron, perhaps, being the one exception.

Shelley was at times subject to strange delusions, but, towards the end of 1813, he was troubled by a most extraordinary one. Peacock, who is our authority, tells us that " he fancied that a fat old woman who sat opposite to him in a mail-coach was afflicted with elephantiasis, that the disease was infectious and incurable, and that he had caught it from her. He was continually on the watch for its symptoms ; his legs were to swell to the size of an elephant's, and his skin was to be crumpled over like goose-skin. He would draw the skin of his own hands, arms, and neck very tight, and, if he discovered any deviation from smoothness, he would seize the person next to him, and endeavour by a corresponding pressure to see if any corresponding deviation existed. He often startled young ladies in an evening party by this singular process, which was as instantaneous as a flash of lightning. His friends took various methods of dis-

pelling the delusion. When he found, as days rolled on, his legs retained their proportion and his skin its smoothness, the delusion died away."

Money matters again began to trouble Shelley while at Edinburgh, and he wrote to an unidentified correspondent on November 28, on whom he had been compelled to draw for a sum of £30, that the consequence of having the bill returned would necessitate, as he says, "our being driven out of our lodgings." On his return south, he went to stay alone, about the middle of February, with his kind friend Mrs. Boinville. From her house he wrote on March 13, 1814, to his father about his affairs, which had become so critical that he could no longer delay raising money by the sale of *post-obit* bonds to a considerable amount. He pointed out that the demands of moneylenders necessitated vast sacrifices, and that he did not propose to unsettle the estate by conceding them. He gave his father the credit for the will, but realised his lack of power to do all that he could reasonably expect. Sir Bysshe, he thought, must surely see that his hopes of perpetuating the integrity of the estates would be frustrated by neglecting to relieve the necessities of his grandson. Should he be driven to do so he would have to dismember the property in the event of the death of his grandfather and father.

Mr. Shelley had already been talking to Sir Bysshe

about his son, and he had evidently made up his mind to do something for him when he wrote on March 7 to Whitton: ". . . My father talked to me abt. P. B. He said he was told he co[d]. do nothing from *a certain person*—I will tell you the reason *when I see you*—I co[d]. have told him a ready mode (but I forbore and bear in mind yr. hint), *i.e.* to pay the debts, give an allowance, & in the first instance lay a restraint, by Bonding, as they do at the Customs. My father said he would sell Castle Goring; that he does not mean, and any offer of so doing wo[d]. be nutts for the unchristian and unfeeling-like spirit."

On March 15 Mr. Shelley again wrote to Whitton with reference to Bysshe's communication of March 13: "I enclose you P. B.'s letter; the tenor of it would not at all suit his grandfather's notions—and on my own part I would rather he would first acknowledge his God, then I might be led to believe his assertions. My assurances of perfect reconciliation flow'd from that source. I doubt, but there are considerable difficulties for him to encounter in procuring sufficient to answer the large demands. P. B. had better leave it to Mr. Amory [Bysshe's solicitor] to communicate these matters to you—I could wish Mr. Amory would so advise him."

On March 4, shortly before Bysshe wrote the last-quoted letter to his father, he had made the sale of

a *post obit*. His object in raising this money was primarily, if not entirely, to assist Godwin. The indenture, however, was not made until July, and the transaction was therefore not then complete at the date of his letter to Mr. Shelley. The reversion of £8000 sterling was offered for sale on the above date at Garraway's Coffee House, Change Alley, "amply secured," as it was stated, "upon valuable freehold property, and made payable at the decease of the survivor of two gentlemen, one [Sir Bysshe] between 80 and 90, and the other [Mr. Shelley] upwards of 60 years of age, in case they are both survived by a gentleman [Bysshe] in his 22nd year." The purchasers were Messrs. Andrew John Nash and George Augustus Nash of Cornhill, who secured it for a sum of £2593, 10*s*.

The following copy of a letter to Messrs. Nash's solicitor, with regard to this transaction, is among the Shelley-Whitton papers and has not been included in the collected edition of Shelley's correspondence :

P. B. Shelley to Mr. Teesdale

Old Bond Street,
May 6, 1814.

Sir,—I beg to inform you that to the best of my knowledge, having made every enquiry on the subject, there has been no portion of the Shelley Estate sold under the Settlement of 1791 except that to Lord

George Cavendish. As to any transaction of my own I have raised no money on the reversion unless in one instance the sum of £500, and I assure you on my word of honour that I shall engage in no transaction that can be any way prejudicial to the interest of Mr. Nash, the purchaser.[1]—Yours, &c.,

PERCY B. SHELLEY.

Early in the summer of this year Bysshe paid his last visit to Field Place. His father and the three youngest children were absent, and he came at his mother's invitation. He walked alone from Bracknell to Horsham, and when within a few miles of Field Place a farmer gave him a seat in his travelling cart. The man, being ignorant whom he was carrying, amused Bysshe with descriptions of the country and its inhabitants, and when Field Place came in sight, he stated, as the most remarkable incident connected with the family, that young Master Shelley seldom went to church. When Bysshe arrived he was greatly fatigued by his journey. From a description of the visit, written in later years by Captain Kennedy, a young officer who had met with hospitality at Field Place, one is able to reconstruct the scene. Until his arrival Kennedy had not seen Bysshe, but

[1] Shortly after the death of Sir Bysshe in 1815 Shelley filed a Bill in Chancery against Messrs. Nash to have the Indenture dated 12th July 1814 rescinded, but the case went against the poet, judgment being given in favour of the defendants on May 28, 1818.

the servants, especially the old butler, Laker, had spoken to him, and " he seemed to have won the hearts of the whole household." Mrs. Shelley had often spoken of her son to Kennedy ; " her heart yearned after him with all the fondness of a mother's love."

Kennedy went to Field Place on the morning following Bysshe's arrival, and " found him with his mother and two elder sisters in a small room off the drawing-room, which they had named Confusion Hall." He received Kennedy with frankness and kindliness, as if he had known him from childhood, and he at once won the young soldier's heart. To continue Kennedy's account in his own words : " I fancy I see him now, as he sat by the window, and hear his voice, the tones of which impressed me with his sincerity and simplicity. His resemblance to his sister Elizabeth was as striking as if they had been twins. His eyes were most expressive, his complexion beautifully fair ; his features exquisitely fine ; his hair was dark, and no peculiar attention to its arrangement was manifest. In person he was slender and gentlemanlike, but inclined to stoop ; his gait was decidedly not military. The general appearance indicated great delicacy of constitution. One would at once pronounce him, that he was something different from other men. There was an earnestness in his manner, and such perfect gentleness of breeding and freedom from everything

artificial, as charmed everyone. I never met a man who so immediately won upon one. The generosity of his disposition and utter unselfishness imposed upon him the necessity of strict self-denial in personal comforts. Consequently he was obliged to be most economical in his dress. He one day asked us how we liked his coat, the only one he had brought with him. We said it was very nice, it looked as if new. 'Well,' said he, 'it is an old black coat which I have had done up and smartened with metal buttons and a velvet collar.' As it was undesirable that Bysshe's presence in the country should be known, we arranged that in walking out he should wear my scarlet uniform, and that I should assume his outer garments. So he donned the soldier's dress and sallied forth. His head was so remarkably small that, though mine be not large, the cap came down over his eyes, the peak resting on his nose, and it had to be stuffed before it would fit him. His hat just stuck on the crown of my head. He certainly looked anything but a soldier.

"The metamorphosis was very amusing; he enjoyed it much, and made himself perfectly at home in his unwonted garb. We gave him the name of Captain Jones, under which name we used to talk of him after his departure; but, with all our care, Bysshe's visit could not be kept a secret. I chanced to mention the name of Sir James Mackintosh, of whom he

expressed the highest admiration. He told me Sir James was intimate with one [Godwin] to whom he said he owed everything ; from whose book, *Political Justice*, he had derived all that was valuable in knowledge and virtue. He discoursed with eloquence and enthusiasm ; but his views seemed to me exquisitely metaphysical, and by no means clear, precise, or decided. He told me that he had already read the Bible four times. [Kennedy said ' in Hebrew,' which, as Hogg states, he never learnt ; he probably said ' in Greek,' as he was much addicted to reading the Septuagint.] He spoke of the Supreme Being as of infinite mercy and benevolence. He disclosed no fixed views of spiritual things ; all seemed wild and fanciful. He said that he once thought the surrounding atmosphere was peopled with the spirits of the departed. He reasoned and spoke as a perfect gentleman, and treated my arguments, boy as I was—I had lately completely my sixteenth year—with as much consideration and respect as if I had been his equal in ability and attainments. Shelley was one of the most sensitive of human beings ; he had a horror of taking life, and looked upon it as a crime. He read poetry with great emphasis and solemnity ; one evening he read aloud to us a translation of one of Goethe's poems, and at this day I think I hear him. In music he seemed to delight, as a medium of association :

the tunes which had been favourites in boyhood charmed him. There was one, which he played several times on the piano with one hand, that seemed to absorb him ; it was an exceedingly simple air which, I understand, his earliest love was wont to play for him. Poor fellow ! He soon left us, and I never saw him afterwards, but I can never forget him. It was his last visit to Field Place. He was an amiable and gentle being."

Mrs. Boinville was evidently aware of the crisis in Shelley's life, and, in allusion to his visit, she wrote from Bracknell to Hogg, on March 11, 1814 : " I will not have you despise homespun pleasures. Shelley is making a trial of them with us, and likes them so well that he is resolved to leave off rambling, and to begin a course of them himself. Seriously, I think his mind and body want rest. His journeys after what he has never found have racked his purse and his tranquillity. He is resolved to take a little care of the former in pity to the latter, which I applaud, and shall second with all my might. He has deeply interested us. In the course of your intimacy he must have made you feel what we now feel for him. He is seeking a house close to us ; and if he succeeds, we shall have an additional motive to induce you to come among us in the summer."

The following, one of the most pathetic letters that Shelley ever penned, was written from Mrs. Boinville's hospitable house :

Parting from Harriet

P. B. Shelley to T. J. Hogg

BRACKNELL,
March 16, 1814.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I promised to write to you, when I was in the humour. Our intercourse has been too much interrupted for my consolation. My spirits have not sufficed to induce the exertion of determining me to write to you. My value, my affection for you, have sustained no diminution; but I am a feeble, wavering, feverish being, who requires support and consolation, which his energies are too exhausted to return.

I have been staying with Mrs. B[oinville] for the last month; I have escaped, in the society of all that philosophy and friendship combine, from the dismaying solitude of myself. They have revived in my heart the expiring flame of life. I have felt myself translated to a paradise which has nothing of mortality but its transitoriness; my heart sickens at the view of that necessity, which will quickly divide me from the delightful tranquillity of this happy home—for it has become my home. The trees, the bridge, the minutest object, have already a place in my affections.

My friend, you are happier than I. You have the pleasures as well as the pains of sensibility. I have sunk into a premature old age of exhaustion, which renders me dead to everything but the inenviable capacity of indulging the vanity of hope, and a terrible susceptibility to objects of disgust and hatred.

My temporal concerns are slowly rectifying themselves; I am astonished at my own indifference to

their event. I live here like the insect that sports in a transient sunbeam, which the next cloud shall obscure for ever. I am much changed from what I was. I look with regret to our happy evenings at Oxford, and with wonder at the hopes which in the excess of my madness I there encouraged. Burns says, you know,

> "Pleasures are like poppies spread,
> You seize the flower—the bloom is fled;
> Or like the snow-falls in the river,
> A moment white—then lost forever."

Eliza is still with us—not here!—but will be with me when the infinite malice of destiny forces me to depart. I am now but little inclined to contest this point. I certainly hate her with all my heart and soul. It is a sight which awakens an inexpressible sensation of disgust and horror, to see her caress my poor little Ianthe, in whom I may hereafter find the consolation of sympathy. I sometimes feel faint with the fatigue of checking the overflowings of my unbounded abhorrence for this miserable wretch. But she is no more than a blind and loathsome worm that cannot see to sting.

I have begun to learn Italian again. I am reading Beccaria, "Dei delitti e pene." His essay seems to contain some excellent remarks, though I do not think it deserves the reputation it has gained. Cornelia assists me in this language. Did I not once tell you that I thought her cold and reserved? She is the reverse of this, as she is the reverse of everything bad. She inherits all the divinity of her mother.

What have you written? I have been unable to

write a common letter. I have forced myself to read Beccaria and Dumont's *Bentham*. I have sometimes forgotten that I am not an inmate of this delightful home—that a time will come, which will cast me again into the boundless ocean of abhorred society.

I have written nothing, but one stanza, which has no meaning, and that I have only written in thought :

> " Thy dewy locks sink on my breast;
> Thy gentle words stir poison there;
> Thou hast disturbed the only rest
> That was the portion of despair!"
> Subdued to Duty's hard control,
> I could have borne my wayward lot;
> The chains that bind this ruined soul
> Had cankered then—but crushed it not."

This is the vision of a delirious and distempered dream, which passes away at the cold clear light of morning. Its surpassing excellence and exquisite perfections have no more reality than the colour of an autumnal sunset. Adieu !—Believe me, truly and affectionately yours, P. B. SHELLEY.[1]

Hogg thought that one might infer from the tone and temper of this letter " that his family might have had him then on reasonable, on easy terms, had they known how to negotiate a treaty of peace. They might probably have lured the wild hawk, the peregrine falcon, back to his perch without difficulty. Possibly they did not know it ; certainly they did not know how to set about it ; and the young wanderer

[1] From Hogg's *Life of Shelley*.

was reserved for other, and for higher and more important destinies." Probably Mrs. Boinville, who had herself made a Scotch marriage, counselled Shelley to remarry in England, so as to avoid any question of the validity of the ceremony in Edinburgh. Much depended on the legitimacy of his heir, should he have one, and he was well advised to take this step. On March 22 he and Godwin went to Doctors' Commons and obtained a License. The ceremony took place at St. George's, Hanover Square, on March 24.

The "Allegations," filed at the Vicar-General's office and made in support of the application for License to marry, state that:

On the 22nd March 1814 appeared personally Percy Bysshe Shelley and made Oath that he is of the Parish of Saint George Hanover Square in the County of Middlesex of the age of twenty-one[1] years and upwards, and that on the twenty-ninth day of August one thousand eight hundred and eleven, he being then a bachelor and a minor of the age of nineteen years and upwards was joined in holy matrimony by the Reverend — Robertson, a minister of the Church of Scotland, at his dwelling-house in the City of Edinburgh, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Scotland, to Harriet Shelley then Westbrook spinster and also a minor of the age of sixteen years and upwards, and he further made Oath that the said Harriet Shelley is now of the Parish of

[1] This is incorrect: his birthday was on Aug. 4th.

Saint George Hanover Square aforesaid a minor of the age of eighteen years and upwards, and that to obviate all doubts which have arisen or may arise touching the validity of the said marriage the appearer and the said Harriet Shelley heretofore Westbrook are willing and desirous of being married again in strict conformity of law by and with the consent of John Westbrook, the natural and lawful father of the said Harriet Shelley heretofore Westbrook the minor aforesaid, and that he knoweth of no lawful impediment by reason of any precontract Consanguinity Affinity or other lawful cause whatsoever to hinder the said intended marriage, and prayed a license to solemnize the same in the Parish Church of Saint George Hanover Square aforesaid, and further made Oath that the usual place of abode of him the appearer hath been in the said Parish of Saint George Hanover Square for the space of Four weeks last past.

(Signed) PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY.

Sworn before me

(Signed) SAML J. MEYRICK *SURR^TE.*

Also appeared personally the said John Westbrook of the Parish of Saint George Hanover Square aforesaid, Gentleman, and made Oath that he is the natural and lawful father of the said Harriet Shelley (heretofore Westbrook, Spinster) the Minor aforesaid, and that he is consenting to the above intended Marriage.

(Signed) JOHN WESTBROOK.

23 of March 1814 the said John Westbrook was sworn before me

(Signed) S. PARTON *SUR* . . .

SAINT GEORGE HANOVER SQUARE REGISTER
Book of Marriages Vol. II. Fo. 189.

Marriages in March 1814. *No.* 164.

Percy Bysshe Shelley and Harriet Shelley (formerly Harriet Westbrook, Spinster, a Minor), both of this Parish, were remarried in this Church by License (the Parties having been already married to each other according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland) in order to obviate all doubts that have arisen or shall or may arise touching or concerning the validity of the aforesaid Marriage by and with the consent of John Westbrook, the natural and lawful Father of the said Minor, this twenty-fourth day of March 1814.

by me EDW^{D}. WILLIAMS, Curate.

This Marriage was solemnised between us { PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY, HARRIET SHELLEY, formerly HARRIET WESTBROOK.

In the presence of JOHN WESTBROOK, JOHN STANLEY.

Until their return south after the second visit to Edinburgh Bysshe and Harriet seem to have been happy together. There is no doubt from her letters to Miss Nugent that she was devoted to him ; and he regarded her with sincere affection.

For his dedication to her in *Queen Mab* he had written in 1813 :

" Whose is the love that, gleaming through the world,
Wards off the poisonous arrow of its scorn ?
Whose is the warm and partial praise,
Virtue's most sweet reward ?

Parting from Harriet

Beneath whose looks did my reviving soul
Ripen in truth and virtuous daring grow?
Whose eyes have I gazed fondly on,
And loved mankind the more?

Harriet! on thine:—thou wert my purer mind;
Thou wert the inspiration of my song;
Thine are these early wilding flowers,
Though garlanded by me.

Then press unto thy breast this pledge of love;
And know, though time may change and years may roll,
Each floweret gather'd in my heart
It consecrates to thine."

During their short married life of two years Bysshe and Harriet had mainly depended on each other for companionship. Now they were beginning to find distractions, both after their own tastes. They both possessed strong personal attractions for the opposite sex, and clouds were gathering. Harriet was but eighteen, though, since she had been a mother, she had felt much older. "When I look back," she wrote, "to the time before I was married, I seem to have lived a long time." Shelley was still undeveloped, but he had already begun to feel his wings. His *Letter to Lord Ellenborough* was a proof that he possessed gifts for writing prose; the quality of his letters to his friends had improved; and *Queen Mab* was a not unworthy precursor of *Alastor*. He was in the ascendant, and poor Harriet was powerless to keep him much longer by her side.

Both Shelley and Harriet were devoted to their first child. Peacock tells us that Shelley "would walk up and down a room with it in his arms for a long time together, singing to it a monotonous melody of his own making, which ran on the repetition of a word of his own making, 'Yáhmani, Yáhmani, Yáhmani, Yáhmani.' It did not please me, but, what was more important, it pleased the child, and lulled it when it was fretful. Shelley was extremely fond of his children. He was pre-eminently an affectionate father." Harriet's letters to Miss Nugent contain several references to her little girl, which show that she likewise was an affectionate mother. But she refused to suckle the child, and, to quote Peacock again, she provided it with a wet nurse whom Shelley did not like, and Ianthe was much looked after by his wife's sister, whom Shelley intensely disliked.[1]

Eliza Westbrook, who had come to stay with the Shelleys shortly after their marriage, and had since stuck to them with the tenacity of a leech, must be reckoned as an important factor in our consideration of Shelley's separation from Harriet. Had this well-meaning woman left their house some months earlier, events still might have righted themselves. The intense loathing with which Shelley regarded his

[1] I quote in the following account from a summary that I wrote for another publication, of the process of Shelley's separation from Harriet.

sister-in-law finds expression in his letter to Hogg on March 16, 1814. A month later Eliza Westbrook departed from the Shelley household.

Harriet's coldness and want of sympathy towards Shelley at this time may have been the result of his undisguised dislike of her much-beloved sister. "His violent antipathy," says Hogg, with regard to Shelley's aversion to Eliza Westbrook, "was probably not less unreasonable than his former excess of deference and blind compliance and concession towards a person whose counsels and direction could never have been prudent, safe, or judicious." At this most critical period Harriet foolishly allowed herself to be influenced by her sister, under whose advice she probably acted when, some months earlier, she prevailed upon Shelley to provide her with a carriage, silver plate, and expensive clothes. Shelley's affairs at this time were already embarrassed, and the fact that Harriet should care for such gew-gaws was to him altogether repugnant, for he had formerly described "the ease and simplicity of her habits" as constituting, in his eyes, her greatest charm.

After the birth of her first child Harriet's manner underwent a change. "Her studies," Hogg tells us, "which had been so constant and exemplary, had dwindled away to nothing, and Bysshe had ceased to express any interest in them, and to urge her, as of

old, to devote herself to the cultivation of her mind. When I called upon her, she proposed a walk, if the weather was fine, instead of the vigorous and continuous readings of preceding years. The walk commonly conducted us to some fashionable bonnet shop; the reading, it is not to be denied, was sometimes tiresome; the contemplation of bonnets was always so. When I called upon Bysshe, Harriet was often absent; she had gone out with Eliza—gone to her father's. Bysshe himself was sometimes in London, and sometimes at Bracknell, where he spent a good deal of his time in visiting certain friends [Mrs. Boinville and her daughter], with whom at this period he was in close alliance, and upon terms of the greatest intimacy, and by which connection his subsequent conduct, I think, was much influenced." [1]

Shelley found Madame de Boinville "the most admirable specimen of a human being" he had ever seen, although in later years he had reason to believe that "it was hardly possible for a person of the extreme subtlety and delicacy of Mrs. Boinville's understanding and affections to be quite sincere and constant." Hogg distrusted her; he did not appreciate the miscellaneous company of faddists who were to be met at her house; but her society stimulated Shelley's intellectual development, and caused him to view the

[1] *Life of Shelley*, vol. ii. pp. 500–501.

narrow outlook of Harriet and her sister with dissatisfaction.

Shelley's re-marriage, on March 24, cannot be adduced as a proof of his affection for Harriet. His state of mind at this time is reflected in those stanzas which he probably wrote just before he concluded his visit to Mrs. Boinville. They are dated April 1814, when he contemplated, with a sinking heart, his inevitable return to an existence of dreary monotony with Harriet and her sister.

STANZAS—April 1814

Away! the moor is dark beneath the moon,
Rapid clouds have drunk the last pale beam of even:
Away! the gathering winds will call the darkness soon,
And profoundest midnight shroud the serene lights of heaven.
Pause not! The time is past! Every voice cries, Away!
Tempt not with one last tear thy friend's ungentle mood:
Thy lover's eye, so glazed and cold, dares not entreat thy stay:
Duty and dereliction guide thee back to solitude.

Away, away! to thy sad and silent home;
Pour bitter tears on its desolated hearth;
Watch the dim shades as like ghosts they go and come,
And complicate strange webs of melancholy mirth;
The leaves of wasted autumn woods shall float around thine head,
The blooms of dewy spring shall gleam beneath thy feet:
But thy soul or this world must fade in the frost that binds the dead,
Ere midnight's frown and morning's smile, ere thou and peace may meet.

The cloud shadows of midnight possess their own repose,
For the weary winds are silent, or the moon is in the deep;
Some respite to its turbulence unresting ocean knows;
Whatever moves or toils, or grieves, hath its appointed sleep.

Thou in the grave shall rest—yet till the phantoms flee
Which that house and heath and garden made dear to thee erewhile,
Thy remembrance, and repentance, and deep musings, are not free,
From the music of two voices and the light of one sweet smile.

According to Mrs. Boinville's letter to Hogg of April 18, 1814,[1] Shelley was then at Bracknell. Harriet had gone to town, presumably to her father's, and Eliza Westbrook had taken her departure. Although Harriet had now become cold and proud, Shelley still hoped to regain her love, and in some verses inscribed "To Harriet, 1814,"[2] he makes a pathetic appeal to her affection. Whether Harriet was moved by this appeal or not, we do not know. She evidently never intended to alienate herself from Shelley, but she was staying at Bath, with her father, during the early days of July, while Shelley had remained in London since the end of May, excepting for a period of ten days, from June 8th to the 18th. Shelley, however, still continued to correspond with Harriet, as is shown by the following letter which she addressed to Thomas Hookham on July 6 or 7, 1814, from 6 Queen's Square, Bath.

My dear Sir,—You will greatly oblige me by giving the enclosed to Mr. Shelley. I would not trouble you, but it is now four days since I have heard from him,

[1] *Life of Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 553.
[2] First printed in Professor Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, vol. i. p. 413.

which to me is an age. Will you write by return of post, and tell me what has become of him? If you tell me that he is well, I shall not come to London; but if I do not hear from you or him, I shall certainly come, as I cannot endure this dreadful state of suspense. You are his friend, and you can feel for me.—I remain, yours truly, H. S.

Although Shelley's own pecuniary affairs in 1814 were most unsatisfactory, his admiration for Godwin was such that he engaged to help him out of his embarrassments by assisting him to raise a sum of money, said to be no less than three thousand pounds. This was the first of these negotiations on behalf of Godwin, which continued to be such a source of trouble to Shelley almost till his last days. He had not been to Godwin's house since March 22, when he went with him to procure his marriage licence. But it was now necessary for Shelley to be much in Godwin's company, and after he returned to London on July 18 he joined the Skinner Street household each day at dinner. It was during these days that Shelley first came in contact with Mary Godwin, who had just returned from Scotland on a visit to the Baxters. On June 8, the date of Lord Cochrane's trial, Hogg first saw Mary Godwin. He met Shelley in Cheapside, and walked with him through Newgate Street to Godwin's shop in Skinner Street. Shelley inquired

for Godwin, who was not at home, and, while he was waiting for the philosopher in his book-room, "the door was partially and softly opened. A thrilling voice called, 'Shelley!' A thrilling voice answered, 'Mary!' And he darted out of the room like an arrow from the bow of the far-shooting king. A very young female, fair and fair-headed, pale indeed, with a piercing look, wearing a frock of tartan, an unusual dress in London at the time, had called him out of the room. He was absent a very short time—a minute or two—and then returned. 'Godwin is out; there is no use in waiting.' So we continued our walk along Holborn. 'Who was that, pray?' I asked; 'a daughter?' 'Yes.' 'A daughter of William Godwin?' 'The daughter of Godwin and Mary.'"

The shop at Skinner Street was the recognised place of pilgrimage for those who venerated the name of Mary Wollstonecraft. Godwin had gone to live there after her death, but there were still some relics that lingered about the place to remind the visitor of her memory. Godwin himself was there, and his young daughter who bore her mother's name, Mary Wollstonecraft, while Opie's fine painting of the author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* looked down from its place over the chimney-piece in the parlour.

Parting from Harriet

Mary was now a girl of sixteen, with a head and neck afterwards compared to a bust of Clytie, and she was devoted to her mother's memory, of whose life she had heard at least something from her father's lips. The girl was accustomed to visit her mother's grave in St. Pancras Churchyard, and here, it is said, she and Shelley plighted their troth in the summer of 1814. Some lines which Shelley addressed to Mary, said[1] to have been written in the June of this year, are a confession of his passion :

TO MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT GODWIN

Mine eyes were dim with tears unshed ;
  Yes, I was firm—thus wert not thou ;
My baffled looks did fear yet dread
  To meet thy looks—I could not know
How anxiously they sought to shine
With soothing pity upon mine.

To sit and curb the soul's mute rage
  Which preys upon itself alone ;
To curse the life which is the cage
  Of fettered grief that dares not groan,
Hiding from many a careless eye
The scorned load of agony.

Whilst thou alone, then not regarded
  The [ ] thou alone should be
To spend years thus, and be rewarded,
  As thou, sweet love, requited me
When none were near—Oh ! I did wake
From torture for that moment's sake.

[1] By Dr. Richard Garnett.

Upon my heart thy accents sweet
Of peace and pity fell like dew
On flowers half dead ;—thy lips did meet
Mine tremblingly ; thy dark eyes threw
Their soft persuasion on my brain,
Charming away its dream of pain.

We are not happy, sweet ! our state
Is strange, and full of doubt and fear ;
More need of words that ills abate ;
Reserve or censure come not near
Our sacred friendship, lest there be
No solace left for thou and me.

Gentle and good and mild thou art,
Nor can I live if thou appear
Aught but thyself, or turn thine heart
Away from me, or stoop to wear
The mask of scorn, although it be
To hide the love thou feel'st for me.

One other written proof of their love-making is still extant. It is in a copy of *Queen Mab* which Shelley gave her, and wrote inside the cover in pencil, "Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, P.B.S.," and in another place, "You see, Mary, I have not forgotten you." From this book he had removed, as was his custom, the title-page and the imprint at the end, but he retained the dedication to Harriet, and wrote below it carefully in ink : "Count Slobendorf was about to marry a woman who, attracted solely by his fortune, proved his selfishness by deserting him in prison."

Mary wrote on the fly-leaves at the end of the volume : "July 1814. This book is sacred to me,

and as no other creature shall ever look into it, I may write in it what I please—yet what shall I write?—that I love the author beyond all the powers of expression, and that I am parted from him, dearest and only love—by that love we have promised to each other, although I may not be yours, I can never be another's. But I am thine, exclusively thine.

"'By the kiss of love, the glance none saw beside,
The smile none else might understand,
The whispered thought of hearts allied,
The pressure of the thrilling hand.'[1]

"I have pledged myself to thee, and sacred is the gift. I remember your words: 'You are now, Mary, going to mix with many, and for a moment I shall depart, but in the solitude of your chamber I shall be with you.' Yes, you are ever with me, sacred vision.

"'But ah! I feel in this was given
A blessing never meant for me,
Thou art too like a dream from heaven
For earthly love to merit thee.'"[2]

Suggestions have been made that Harriet was unfaithful to Shelley before their separation, and that she was in love with a Major Ryan, who is mentioned in her correspondence with Miss Nugent. Apparently there is nothing to support this supposition; on the

[1] From Byron's "To Thyrza," the first line is altered.
[2] From Byron's lines beginning "If sometimes in the haunts of men."

contrary, the evidence is entirely in her favour. Peacock, Hogg, and Hookham, all of whom knew her intimately, believed her to be perfectly innocent of any guilt, and Thornton, Hunt, and Trelawny shared the same belief. On the other hand, Shelley is said to have been convinced to the contrary in July 1814, and to have held this opinion to the day of his death. But if Shelley had not thought her guilty, the fact that he was certain she no longer loved him was sufficient in his sight to make it impossible for him to live with Harriet as her husband.

The convictions on the subject of marriage that he had expressed in *Queen Mab* in 1813 remained his convictions in 1814. He felt he was free to give his heart to Mary, with whom he was now deeply in love. Harriet failed to realise that she had lost Shelley, and she came to London, at his request, on July 14, when he disclosed to her his position. Peacock says : " The separation did not take place by mutual consent. I cannot think that Shelley ever so represented it. He never did so to me ; and the account which Harriet herself gave me of the entire proceeding was decidedly contradictory to any such supposition. He might well have said, after seeing Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, *' Ut vidi ! ut perii ! '* Nothing that I ever read in tale or history could ever present a more striking image of a sudden, violent, irresistible, un-

controllable passion than that under which I found him labouring when, at his request, I went up from the country to call on him in London. Between his old feelings towards Harriet, *from whom he was not then separated*, and his new passion for Mary, he showed in his looks, in his gestures, in his speech, the state of a mind suffering, 'like a little kingdom, the nature of an insurrection.' His eyes were bloodshot, his hair and dress disordered. He caught up a bottle of laudanum, and said, 'I never part from this.' He added, 'I am always repeating your lines from "Sophocles":

> '"Man's happiest lot is not to be;
> And when we tread life's thorny steep,
> Most blest are they, who earliest free
> Descend to Earth's eternal sleep."'

Again, he said more calmly, 'Everyone who knows me must know that the partner of my life should be one who can feel poetry and understand philosophy. Harriet is a noble animal, but she can do neither.' I said, 'It always appeared to me that you were very fond of Harriet.' Without affirming or denying this he answered, 'But you did not know how I hated her sister!'"

CHAPTER XV

THE DEATH OF HARRIET

Shelley's elopement with Mary Godwin—His letter to Harriet—Poverty in London—Birth of Charles Bysshe Shelley—Death of Sir Bysshe Shelley—His will—Shelley's income—Life at Bishopgate—The maintenance of Shelley's children—Shelley acts on the stage at Windsor—The case of Du Cane *v.* Shelley—*Alastor*—Shelley's second visit to the Continent—Godwin's unfriendly attitude—Shelley returns to England—Makes his will—The death of Fanny Godwin—Death of Harriet Shelley—Inquest on her body—Her grave.

HAVING reached that point when Shelley parted from Harriet, I shall in the following chapters tell as much of his life as is necessary to illustrate the unpublished material in the Shelley-Whitton papers.

Mary Godwin, accompanied by Clare Clairmont,[1] left her father's shop in Skinner Street at five o'clock on the morning of July 28, 1814, walked to the corner of Hatton Garden, and found Shelley in waiting with a post-chaise. At the moment of parting, Clare was persuaded to enter the carriage with Mary, as she could speak French, which was an attainment that neither Shelley nor Mary possessed. It was a

[1] Clara Jane Mary Clairmont, who was known in her family as Jane, adopted the name of Clare, Clara, or Claire towards the end of the year 1814.

blazingly hot day, hotter than had been known for many years in England, and Mary was overcome with faintness, so that it was found necessary for her to rest at each stage. But these delays gave Shelley some anxious moments, and at Dartford he took four horses in order to outstrip pursuit. Dover was reached before four o'clock in the afternoon, and Mary refreshed herself with a sea-bath. The fugitives, who were too impatient to wait until the following day for the packet, hired a small boat and resolved to cross the Channel the same evening, the seamen promising them a passage of two hours. The evening was beautifully fine, but as night came on and the moon rose a heavy swell and a fresh breeze produced a rough sea. The journey was prolonged by the bad weather; Mary was very ill, and she rested against Shelley's knees as hour after hour went by. Suddenly a thunder squall struck the sail, the boat was in peril and almost overturned, but the wind then changed and they made straight for Calais. Mary at length fell asleep, and still slumbered while Shelley watched the sun rise over France.

Mrs. Godwin had started in pursuit of the girls as soon as they were missed; she crossed, on the following day, in the packet for which Shelley had refused to wait, and managed to catch them up at Calais. Shelley was informed "that a fat lady had arrived,

who said that he had run away with her daughter." The lady was, of course, Mrs. Godwin. Clare spent the night with her mother, who endeavoured to induce her to return home. On the following day Clare was undecided what to do, until Shelley counselled her to take time to consider, whereupon she chose to bear Mary company. So Mrs. Godwin went back alone, and " without answering a word."

The two girls, dressed in black satin, now proceeded with Shelley towards Paris, where they remained for a week. Shelley, with characteristic want of foresight, had neglected to provide himself with sufficient money, and he was forced to sell his watch and chain for eight napoleons. But he managed to obtain further funds from a French man of business, and they were then able to continue their journey towards Switzerland. They purchased a donkey with the intention of riding him by turns, but the poor beast was scarcely able to carry their portmanteau, much less one of the party. So they sold him and purchased a mule, which for some time carried Mary and the luggage. This arrangement continued, Shelley and Clare walking beside the animal, until the poet hurt his ankle on August 12, and was obliged to ride while the girls followed him on foot. The same evening they reached Troyes, and on the day after Shelley wrote to Harriet.

The Death of Harriet

P. B. Shelley to Harriet Shelley

TROYES (120 miles from Paris on
the way to Switzerland),
Aug. 13, 1814.

MY DEAREST HARRIET,—I write to you from this detestable town: I write to show that I do not forget you: I write to urge you to come to Switzerland, where you will at least find one firm and constant friend, to whom your interests will be always dear—by whom your feelings will never wilfully be injured. From none can you expect this but me—all else are unfeeling or selfish, or have beloved friends of their own as Mrs. B[oinville], to whom their attention and affection is confined.

I will write at length from Neufchatel or you direct your letters "d'être laissé à la Bureau de Poste Neufchatel"—until you hear again.

We have journeyed from Paris on foot with a mule to carry our baggage; and Mary, who has not been sufficiently well to walk, fears the fatigue of walking.

We passed through a fertile country, neither interesting from the character of its inhabitants nor the beauty of the scenery. We came 120 miles in four days; the last two days we passed over the country that was the seat of war. I cannot describe to you the frightful desolation of this scene; village after village entirely ruined and burned, the white ruins towering in innumerable forms of destruction among the beautiful trees. The inhabitants were famished; families once independent now beg their bread in this wretched country; no provisions; no accommodation; filth, misery, and famine everywhere. (You will see nothing of this on your route to Geneva.)

I must remark to you that, dreadful as the calamities are, I can scarcely pity the inhabitants; they are the most unamiable, inhospitable, and unaccommodating of the human race. We go by some carriage from this town to Neufchatel, because I have strained my leg and am unable to walk. I hope to be recovered by that time; but on our last day's journey I was perfectly unable to walk. Mary resigned the mule to me. Our walk has been, excepting this, sufficiently agreeable; we have met none of the robbers they prophesied at Paris. You shall hear our adventures more detailed if I do not hear at Neufchatel that I am soon to have the pleasure of communicating to you in person, and of welcoming you to some sweet retreat I will procure for you among the mountains.

I have written to Peacock to superintend money affairs: he is expensive, inconsiderate, and cold, but surely not utterly perfidious and unfriendly and unmindful of our kindness to him: besides, interest will secure his attention to these things. I wish you to bring with you the two deeds which Tahourdin has to prepare for you, as also a copy of the settlement. Do not part with any of your money. But what shall be done about the books? You can consult on the spot. With love to my sweet little Ianthe, ever most affectionately yours,

S.

I write in great haste: we depart directly.[1]

This letter reveals the side of Shelley's character that enabled him to arrive at a decision without regard to conventions. His suggestion that Harriet

[1] From Dowden's *Life of Shelley*.

should join him on his holiday with Mary and Clare would have been not only extraordinary but base, were it not clear that he was thoroughly sincere. Notwithstanding his conviction that Harriet had deserted him, and that he could no longer be a husband to her, he believed he could still stand by her as her best friend, and one who was bound to continue to take an interest in her welfare.

At the date of Shelley's visit to the Continent, France had all but seen the last of Napoleon, who had abdicated some two months earlier and withdrawn himself to exile at Elba, while Bourbon Louis XVIII reigned over a people exhausted by a twenty years' war. Shelley passed over ground that still bore the scars of battle and plunder, where, but a few months before, Napoleon's wearied legions had been in deadly conflict with the Prussians. It is unlikely that these scenes of desolation were ever effaced from Shelley's mind.

At Troyes the mule was sold, an open carriage purchased for five napoleons, and a driver, who proved incompetent, was engaged. A week later they had reached Neufchâtel. Here Shelley obtained a small sum of money, and with it he pressed on to the Lake of Lucerne, where he engaged two rooms in a château at Brunnen at a louis a month for six months. He was probably unable to take them for a shorter period, but they were only occupied for forty-eight hours,

when the travellers decided to turn their faces towards England. It was Shelley's hope that, by taking advantage of the Reuss and Rhine, he would be able to perform the journey entirely by water. Travelling through Germany and Holland, they made a brave attempt to carry out his plan, but they sometimes found it necessary to take a land conveyance. Arriving at length at Rotterdam, they sailed on September 8 for London, which they reached on September 13.

From the day that Mary joined her lot with Shelley they kept a joint diary. From this journal, with the addition of some letters written home to Peacock, Mary compiled a little account of this journey and their later visit to the Continent, which was subsequently published in 1817, with the title *History of a Six Weeks' Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland.* Shelley on his arrival in London was penniless, and not having the wherewithal even to pay for his passage and meet other smaller charges, he drove at once to his bank, to find that all his funds had been drawn. Miss Clairmont stated that while abroad Shelley had instructed his banker to honour Harriet's calls for money as far as his funds allowed. Shelley applied to Harriet, who gave him a sum of twenty pounds, and who added "the reproaches of an injured wife." [1]

[1] Professor Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, vol. i. pp. 463–4.

The Death of Harriet

Shortly after Shelley and Mary arrived in London they engaged lodgings at 56 Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, and for the present Clare remained with them. Shelley took an early opportunity of writing to William Godwin, who replied that in future he would only receive communications through his solicitor. Gossipers had been busy, and it was whispered that Godwin had sold his own girl Mary, and his wife's daughter Clare Clairmont, to Shelley for £800 and £700 respectively. That this was merely a rumour, and that Shelley, who, in eloping with Mary, had done no more than put Godwin's early anti-matrimonial teaching into practice, did not make the slander easier to bear. Godwin's philosophical calm for once was shaken, and, vital as Shelley's aid was to his existence, he was resolved to accept it, but with a gloved hand. Shelley did not display any resentment or bad feeling towards Godwin for his aloofness. He still regarded the author of *Political Justice*, and the father of his Mary, as the fountain-head of wisdom and truth, and he did not relax in his endeavours to serve him.

Shelley's diary during these days shows that he was again reading, with many other books, *Political Justice*, and that visits were frequently paid to Harriet, and received from Hogg, Hookham, and almost daily from Peacock. Shelley spent much of his time in

endeavouring to raise money for his own needs as well as for those of Godwin. But he found that money was very scarce, and he could not obtain any. As October dragged on, Shelley was again in danger of arrest at the instance of his creditors, and he had to leave his lodgings and go into hiding for fear of the bailiffs. Mary could only meet him furtively at odd places, such as Staple Inn or Bartlett's Buildings, a quiet *cul de sac* at the end of Skinner Street, off Snow Hill, or at St. Paul's Cathedral. They had been obliged to change their rooms more than once. One day, when they were living in the squalor of a St. Pancras lodging-house, the people demanded their money, and, on being disappointed, refused to send up the dinner to the hungry young people. Events now shaped themselves so as to contribute thoroughly to Shelley's and Mary's misery. They had to endure dire poverty and dismal accounts of affairs at Skinner Street. Godwin, moreover, was irreconcilable, Mrs. Godwin slanderous, and Clare often moody, sullen, and in the way. Harriet, so Shelley believed, was plotting with Hookham, from whom he had hopes of help in the way of bail from his creditors. These trials served, if anything, to draw Shelley and Mary together, and, as they could not always meet, they wrote to one another love-letters full of faith for the future. Mary, lonely, paid frequent visits to the tomb of her mother, Mary

Wollstonecraft, at St. Pancras Churchyard, and one day she went there to read her father's *Essay on Sepulchres*. On Sundays Shelley, safe from his pursuers, was able to return home, to his and Mary's delight. November 6 was one of these happy occasions, and Mary wrote in the diary: "Talk to Shelley. He writes a heap of letters. Read part of *St. Leon*. Talk to him all the evening; this is a day devoted to Love in idleness. Go to sleep early in the evening. Shelley goes away a little before 10."

On December 6 Shelley heard that Harriet had given birth to a son. This intelligence was conveyed to him in a letter from Hookham, and also in one from Harriet herself, telling him that the child had been born a week. Mary noted in the diary on this date, with a touch of resentment: "Shelley writes a number of circular letters of this event, which ought to be ushered in with ringing of bells, &c., for it is the son *of his wife*"; and she speaks of Harriet's letter, which was written as "from a *deserted wife*." On the following day Shelley called on Harriet, "who," said Mary, "treats him with insulting selfishness."

Harriet told her Irish correspondent, Miss Nugent, on December 11 that she had "been confined a fortnight on Wednesday—that is to say, on November 30. He is an eight months' child, and very like his unfortunate father, who is more depraved than ever. . . .

He is a very fine child for the time. I have seen his father: he came to see me as soon as he knew of the event: but as to his tenderness to me none remains. He said he was glad it was a boy, because he would make money cheaper. You see how that noble soul is debased. Money now, not philosophy, is the grand spring of his actions. Indeed, the pure and enlightened philosophy he once delighted in has flown. He is no longer that pure and good being he once was, nor can he ever retrieve himself."

Shelley was, in legal phraseology, tenant in tail male in remainder expectant on the deaths of his grandfather and father. He had in 1814, on the occasion of the transaction with the Messrs. Nash, levied a fine without the concurrence of his grandfather or father. Such fine created what is termed a base fee, *i.e.* an estate which would continue so long as he had issue male. Shelley certainly was anxious to procure money, and much of his time, since his return from the Continent, had been occupied with lawyers and money-lenders; he wanted money for Godwin, and to relieve his own necessities, which were so pressing that he had been living for many weeks in daily expectation of arrest for debt. He had applied through his solicitor to Mr. Shelley for an increase in his allowance, and Mr. Whitton replied, on December 10, that "Mr. P. B. Shelley is well aware that his father has not the

means . . . of making to him a greater allowance than he now does." Shelley was in want of a sum of £2000, of which he intended to devote £1200 to Godwin, and the rest he required for his own debts. Whitton discussed the question of effecting a re-settlement of the estates with Mr. Tim Shelley, or of obtaining for him in fee the estate under the will of John Shelley, the brother of Sir Bysshe. Neither of these suggestions could be put into practice without the concurrence of Sir Bysshe, to whom it was inadvisable to write, as he was now very old, ailing, and indeed nearing his end. Mr. Shelley, whose object was to put a check on his son's transactions, learnt some days later that Bysshe had arranged for the sale of a *post obit* of £10,000 for a sum of £3000.

Sir Bysshe died on January 5, 1815, and on the following day Whitton wrote to inform Amory, Shelley's then solicitor, of this event, and begged him to prevent "the young gentleman going to his father's at present . . . his presence will, as I understand, be most painful to Mrs. S." Shelley went off to Sussex on learning of his grandfather's death. He was accompanied by Clare Clairmont; perhaps Mary would have taken her place had she been well enough. On presenting himself at Field Place Bysshe was refused admittance by his father—now Sir Timothy Shelley. Whereupon the poet seated himself on the doorstep

and read *Comus* out of Mary's copy of Milton. Presently Dr. Blocksome came out of the house and told Bysshe that his father was very angry with him. He looked at the book in Bysshe's hands, and observed Mary's name in it. Bysshe learnt, perhaps from the doctor, that the will had been opened, and that he was referred to Whitton.

Sir Bysshe was buried on Tuesday, January 18, in the family vault at Horsham, and, as the notice contributed by Whitton[1] to a Sussex newspaper says: "The corpse was followed by the present Sir Timothy Shelley, Bart., who hath succeeded to the family estates of the Shelleys and Mitchells [*sic*], and by John Shelley Sidney of Penshurst Place, Kent, Esqre., the deceased['s] eldest son by his Second Marriage, and by Major Shelley, the third Son, and a numerous and respectable Tenantry." His grandson Bysshe does not appear to have attended the funeral, as he returned to London on January 13;[2] there is, however, no entry printed from Mary's diary between that date and January 24. Bysshe had some years previously told Miss Hitchener that he had no

[1] Who sent it to the editor with a two-pound note.

[2] Whitton wrote in his business diary on Jan. 13, 1815, the date of Shelley's return to London: "Attended Mr. P. B. Shelley on the death of his Grandfather and the result of his visit to Field Place, and I communicated generally the import of the Will and Codicils and promised that as soon as possible after the interment of Sir Bysshe he should receive all the information in my power to give him."

intention of attending his grandfather's funeral when he should die.[1]

Sir Bysshe's residuary personal estate was sworn under £175,000. His daughter, Mrs. Aickin, who by her marriage with Captain Aickin is said to have displeased Sir Bysshe, only received an annuity of £52, 10s. and a legacy of £100. Mr. John Shelley-Sidney, however, sympathising with his half-sister in her disappointment, arranged to pay her a yearly sum of £100.

Sir Bysshe by his Will dated 28 Nov. 1805 (after reciting the Settlement of 20 August 1791) devised his real Estates to Trustees (Du Cane and Wm. Whitton) Upon trust to settle the same to the use of Timothy for life without power to commit waste with remainder To the use of Percy Bysshe Shelley for life with remainder To the use of the first and every other son of Percy Bysshe Shelley in tail male And in default of such male issue To the use of the second son of Timothy (who was John) for life with remainder To the use of the first and every son of John in tail male. And he also bequeathed one half of his Residuary personal Estate to his trustees upon trust to convert the same into money and to invest the proceeds in the purchase of Freehold or copyhold land in England and to settle the same To the uses declared by his Will of his

[1] See p. 15.

real Estates thereby devised—He directed that in the Settlement to be made as aforesaid there should be contained clauses for barring the Entail on the Estates comprised in the Settlement of 20 August 1791, and for resettling the same Estates To the uses declared by his own Will and that in case any person being Tenant for life or in tail in such Estates should refuse or neglect for one year to concur in barring the Entail, then the uses directed to be limited in the Estates devised by his Will to such person, should cease and become void and that such Estates should go to the next person in succession under the Will—He also directed that in the Settlement to be made there should be contained provisoes for the person in possession to take the name and bear the Arms of Shelley and in default to forfeit his interest And he declared that his Trustees were not to lay out the residue of his Estate in the purchase of lands unless Consols were at 70— He directed his remains to be decently buried either at Penshurst or Horsham, that was to say, at such of those places as he should be nearest unto at the time of his death.

By a fifth Codicil to his Will dated 29 October 1811,[1] Sir Bysshe, after reciting the Settlement of 30 April 1782, in effect directed that all persons who

[1] 1811, the year of Shelley's expulsion from Oxford, his marriage to Harriet, and his quarrel with his father.

should become entitled to an Estate for life or in tail in the Estates comprised in the Settlement of 1782 should resettle such Estates or in default should forfeit all benefit under his Will.

Similar conditions had been imposed by previous wills of the Shelleys, so that Sir Bysshe was following a precedent in his family.

The Settlement of 1782 comprised the Michell Estates in Sussex which formerly belonged to Mary Catherine Michell (the first wife of Sir Bysshe), whilst the Settlement of 1791 comprised the Estates devised by the Will of Edward Shelley of Field Place, who died 1747–8, and resettled by Sir Bysshe and Timothy in 1791.

But at the dates of the Will and Codicils of Sir Bysshe there were other Estates in Sussex of the annual value of £800 to which under the Will of John Shelley of Field Place, who died in 1790, his brother Sir Bysshe was entitled for life, with remainder to the latter's son Timothy for life, with remainder to Percy Bysshe in tail male. Apparently by some oversight Sir Bysshe did not by his Will or any Codicil make any provision for the resettling of this property.

On January 20 Shelley received a copy of Sir Bysshe's will and codicils from Whitton, who stated that Sir Timothy was "ready to concur in all necessary acts for re-settling the estates comprised in the Settlements of 1782 and 1791 according to the directions" in his

grandfather's will and codicils. Sir Timothy was anxious that Bysshe should be given time to consider whether he would take an interest under his grandfather's will by performing the necessary acts.

Bysshe, however, refused to comply with the conditions of his grandfather's will, and by a Deed-Poll formally renounced all interest under such will, and he agreed to sell to his father his reversionary interest under the will of John Shelley in consideration of his father paying him the sum of £7400 and covenanting to pay him an annuity of £1000 during their joint lives.[1]

When this arrangement was complete, Shelley at once sent Harriet a sum of £200 wherewith to liquidate her debts, and gave instructions for his father's banker to pay her in quarterly instalments a sum of £200 a year. This amount, with a like sum which Mr. Westbrook allowed his daughter, provided Harriet with an income of £400 per annum.

Shelley was now in a position of comfort, and after the experience of many months in London lodgings he was able to leave town for Devonshire. In June he was at Torquay, and a month later, while he was looking for a suitable house, Mary was staying at Clifton. Mary had given birth in February to a seven-months' girl, who survived only a few days. The

[1] These transactions were carried out by three deeds, short abstracts of which will be found in the Appendix.

loss of her baby and her impaired health had given Shelley some anxious weeks. This quiet sojourn, however, restored her, and by August she was settled with Shelley in a furnished house at Bishopgate, near the eastern entrance of Windsor Park, where they remained till the spring of 1816, and where, on January 24 of that year, their son William was born.

Peacock, who was living at Great Marlow, frequently walked over to Bishopgate to see Shelley, and at the end of August he, Shelley, Mary, and Charles Clairmont made a ten days' excursion on the Thames from Windsor to Lechlade in Gloucestershire. They went a little higher, but did not get much beyond Inglesham on account of the water-weeds. Shelley wanted to go on, and to traverse various rivers and canals until they reached the Falls of the Clyde, a distance of two thousand miles; but the idea was given up when it was ascertained that a sum of £20 would be required for the privilege of passing the Severn Canal. Clairmont, who wrote an account of the excursion in a letter to his sister Clare, tells us that they stayed at Oxford from seven in the evening till four o'clock the next afternoon. After seeing the Bodleian Library and the Clarendon Press, they visited, he said, "the very rooms where the two noted infidels, Shelley and Hogg (now, happily, excluded the society of the present residents), pored, with the incessant and un-

wearied application of the alchymist, over the certified and natural boundaries of human knowledge." Clairmont added: "We have all felt the good effects of this jaunt, but in Shelley the change is quite remarkable; he has now the ruddy, healthy complexion of the autumn upon his countenance, and he is twice as fat as he used to be."

The journal kept by Shelley and Mary has been lost from May 14, 1815, for a year onwards. It would no doubt have told us, what we now learn from the following letter, that Harriet had applied to Shelley for an allowance for the keep of the two children in addition to the sum which he had arranged to pay for her support. He refused to comply with this request, which probably aroused his misgivings that, as Harriet had found her income insufficient, the children may have gone on short commons. He therefore told her that he was willing—nay, desirous—of having Ianthe with him, and that he would support and care for her. Harriet would not consent to part with her little girl, excusing herself on the ground of Shelley's religious principles, nor would she agree to be a party in a deed of separation. Shelley then declared that, unless she delivered up the child, he should withdraw his promised allowance for her maintenance. At this stage the Westbrooks meditated taking proceedings against Shelley in the courts for alimony on Harriet's

account, and for a separate allowance for the children's support. Shelley's suggestion that his father should help to support the children apparently met with a refusal.

W. Whitton to Sir Timothy Shelley

GRAY'S INN,
30 *Nov*r. 1815.

DEAR SIR TIMOTHY,—I yesterday had a visit from Mr. Desse and Mr. Westbrook, who stated much of their treaty for a Settlement by Mr. P. B. Shelley for the maintenance of his children in addition to that made for his wife without effect, and that Mr. Shelley requested that his daughter should be delivered to him which the mother had refused to do, that they meditated proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court for Alimony for the wife and in the Court of Chancery for maintenance for the children, in which proceedings the religious principles of Mr. Shelley would be stated as the ground or reason for refusing to give him the care of the children, and under such circumstances the visit to me was to enquire whether to prevent a publick statement of the situation of Mr. Shelley you would take on yourself the support, that is, to allow for the support of one of the children if Mr. Westbrook provided for the other, and if Mrs. Shelley should be content with the £200 a year. I told them that I would mention the subject to you, but I felt confident you would not interfere with Mr. Shelley farther than you had done in respect to any allowance. Indeed, I know that the plan proposed by them would not be satisfactory, because I have been informed by Mr.

Longdill that as Mrs. Shelley's friends advise her not to enter into any deed of separation and not to give him the care of his daughter, it is his intention to withdraw the allowance of £200 a year which we had agreed to make for Mrs. Shelley, so that confusion will soon follow in their affairs and I fear that if you allow yourself to be mingled in the strife and to take the conduct that is suggested you will undergo continual anxiety and pain. It is not the money but the Company in which you may be placed, and more, much more, may be expected from you should you do as is requested than would be pleasant to your feelings, and Mr. P. B. Shelley would consider you looking to his persecutors rather than to him, a situation that it is most desirable for you to avoid lest a great change should take place in his conduct and principles and he should be in a situation to receive your protection. You know what reply I am to give.

It was mentioned to me yesterday that Mr. P. B. Shelley was exhibiting himself on the Windsor Stage in the Character of Shakespeare's plays under the figured name of Cooks. I believe that fact is so, and I know of no way correcting such a purpose and bringing himself and his conduct in life and principles before the publick than measures of communication with the principal of the Company, whose name, I believe, is Penley, and whom I know a little of from his visiting Camberwell parish annually with his company. Can I do anything for you about this?—I am, &c., WILLIAM WHITTON.

SIR T. SHELLEY, BT.,
Field Place,
Horsham, Sussex.

If Whitton is correct in his statement that Shelley had acted in Shakespeare's plays at the Windsor Theatre, it is strange that both Peacock and Hogg, who were much in his company at this time, have forborne to mention it. Had they heard of such an interesting episode in their friend's life, it is unlikely that they would have forgotten to describe him as an actor. Whitton, on the other hand, was not the sort of man to retail idle gossip, and it is possible that Shelley may have kept the matter to himself. Whitton, who at that date and for some years previously had resided at Camberwell on a small estate which he had purchased in 1812 from the well-known Dr. Lettsom, speaks with some knowledge of Penley, and he was no doubt sure of his facts.[1]

In his diary, under the date of December 1, Whitton stated that he had had some conversation with Shelley's solicitor, Mr. Longdill, in regard to his client's appearance on the stage, as well as on the communication made to him by Mr. Westbrook and his solicitor, Mr. Desse. Whitton used his best endeavours to avert the meditated proceedings in the courts, and he suggested that the children should be placed in the care

[1] Blanche in his book *Ye Parish of Camberwell*, 1877, says: "The Peckham Theatre was at one time an institution in the Village, for the spirited Proprietor, Mr. Penley of Drury Lane notoriety, generally presented an attractive bill of fare, and residents of to-day speak in terms of high praise of the performers."

of some person approved of by Desse and Longdill, and that Shelley should make a proper allowance for their support. "This subject," he said, "caused a general consideration of Mr. Shelley's situation, in particular his connection with the Theatre at Windsor, and Mr. Longdill urged that he might have communication with Sir Timothy." Mr. Whitton continued his efforts to assist at an amicable settlement between Shelley and Harriet, and on February 15, 1816, he informed Sir Timothy that he had been negotiating to prevent hostilities between Mr. Desse and Mr. Longdill.

In 1815–16 the Trustees of the Will of Sir Bysshe (Peter Du Cane and William Whitton) filed a Bill in Chancery to have the Will and Codicils established and the trusts thereof carried into execution, and for an injunction to restrain Sir Timothy from cutting timber on the Estates comprised in the Settlements of 1782 and 1791, which timber was stated to be of the value of some thousands of pounds. (Shelley in his letter to Godwin, dated May 3, 1816, said the timber was worth £60,000.) The defendants were Sir Timothy Shelley, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Charles Bysshe Shelley (the infant son of Percy Bysshe), and others.

It would appear that in those days it was necessary for an infant to attend personally in court for the purpose of having a guardian assigned to him to defend

the suit and file an answer. There seems to have been considerable difficulty in getting Bysshe's infant child (then only sixteen months old) brought to the court, for on March 2, 1816, Whitton wrote to Desse: "I have not stated to you I have obtained the attachment and the Order for the Messenger to take the infant into Court, and you will feel that it is my duty to enforce this Order unless Mrs. Shelley will make it unnecessary by bringing the child into Court without further trouble." Possibly Harriet was apprehensive that Shelley might kidnap the child.

The Order for attachment was as follows:

March 2, 1816.—Upon Motion this day made unto this Court by Mr. Blackburn of Counsel for the Plaintiffs It was alleged that an Attachment hath issued against the defendant Charles Bysshe Shelley who is an infant for want of his Answer to the Plaintiffs' Bill. It is ordered that the Messenger attending this Court do apprehend the said defendant the infant and bring him to the Bar of this Court to have a guardian assigned him by whom he may answer the Plaintiffs' Bill and defend this suit.

From a letter written by Whitton on March 12th to Teasdale (Nash's solicitor) it appears that the suit in question was not a hostile one. The real object of it appears to have been to get a decision as to whether Timothy could cut timber on the estates comprised in the settlements of 1782 and 1791, and whether

Timothy could concur with his son in making any disposition of such estates without incurring a forfeiture of the life estate given to him (Timothy) by Sir Bysshe's will.

The case was argued before Lord Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, and Whitton wrote, on April 23, 1816, to inform Sir Timothy that the Lord Chancellor had given his judgment, which was nearly in the terms which was anticipated would be the result—that the Chancellor was most clearly of opinion that neither Bysshe nor his issue could take any interest under the will of Sir Bysshe, and that they were not entitled to prevent Sir Timothy from cutting the timber, or in any manner interested in the timber when cut. But as Sir Timothy's other son, John, might ultimately become tenant in tail in remainder on Sir Timothy's life, the money derived from the wood was to be invested. Sir Timothy, however, was to receive the interest. The Chancellor also held that Sir Timothy must retain his life estate, and do no act to prevent a re-settlement according to the will. "Thus all arrangement with Mr. P. B. Shelley," said Whitton, "is made impracticable, and he is as I understand greatly disappointed at that part of the decision, for he has some very pressing occasions for money. He was in Court."

Shelley's mental development advanced under the genial sympathy of Mary's influence; she said that

"he enjoyed several months of comparative health and tranquil happiness." His comparative freedom from money worries had enabled him to give his attention once more to poetry, and, inspired by the scenery of Windsor Forest, he had written, probably by the end of 1815, his poem *Alastor* and the other pieces contained in the volume published under that title. Of this volume he printed at his own expense 250 copies, and he sent a copy to John Murray on January 16, 1816, asking him if he would publish it. On Murray's declining the book, Shelley made arrangements for it to be issued jointly by Baldwin & Co. and Carpenter & Son, and announced to the last-named firm, in his letter of February 6th, that he expected the volume would be ready for publication in the course of a few days.

A copy of *Alastor* probably found its way to Field Place, for on February 27th Sir Timothy wrote to Whitton: "P. B. has published a Poem with some fragments, somewhat in his usual style, not altogether free from former sentiments, and wants to find out one person on earth the Prototype of himself." Sir Timothy was far from being the only unappreciative reader of this little book. Its merits failed to attract the attention either of the reviewers or the public, although these merits were sufficient to establish the author's reputation as a poet not

unworthy to take his place with Wordsworth and Coleridge.

An exception to the general neglect of *Alastor* is to be found in an article from the pen of Leigh Hunt that appeared in the *Examiner* for December 1, 1816. Although it contained the briefest reference to the poem, and no criticism, it constituted, perhaps, in a few cordial lines, the first public recognition of Shelley's poetical gifts. Under the title of "Young Poets" Hunt spoke of the work of Shelley, John Hamilton Reynolds, and John Keats—"three young writers, who appear to us to promise a considerable addition of strength to the new school. Of the first who came before us, we have, it is true, yet seen only one or two specimens, and these were no sooner sent us than we unfortunately mislaid them; but we shall procure what he has published, and if the rest answer to what we have seen, we shall have no hesitation in announcing him a very striking and original thinker. His name is Percy Bysshe Shelley, and he is the author of a poetical work entitled *Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude.*" More space was devoted to the two other poets, and specimens of their work were quoted.

In sending a copy of this little book to Southey, Shelley recalled the pleasure that he had derived from the conversation and the kindness he had received from the Lake poet. He pleaded as his excuse for

having neglected to write, as he had promised, from Ireland, "the disappointment of some youthful hopes, and subsequent misfortunes of a heavier nature."

As soon as the Court of Chancery had decided the questions arising under Sir Bysshe's will, Shelley made preparations for a second visit to the Continent. He had spent some days in London lodgings at Marchmont Street, and just before embarking for France he wrote, on May 3rd, from Dover, to William Godwin to inform him of the state of his concerns. After detailing certain matters concerning money, he spoke of his motives in leaving England, and adding a generous expression of regard for Godwin, said :

"Continually detained in a situation where what I esteem a prejudice does not permit me to live on equal terms with my fellow-beings, I resolved to commit myself to a decided step. Therefore I take Mary to Geneva, where I shall devise some plan of settlement, and only leave her to return to London, and exclusively devote myself to business. I leave England, I know, not, perhaps, for ever. I return, alone, to see no friend, to do no office of friendship, to engage in nothing that can soothe the sentiments of regret almost like remorse which, under such circumstances, everyone feels who quits his native land. I respect you, I think well of you, better perhaps than of any other person whom England contains ; you were the philosopher who first awakened, and who still as a philo-

sopher to a very great degree regulates my understanding. It is unfortunate for me that the part of your character which is least excellent should have been met by my convictions of what was right to do. But I have been too indignant, I have been unjust to you—forgive me; burn those letters which contain the records of my violence, and believe me that, however what you erroneously call fame and honour separate us, I shall always feel towards you as the most affectionate of friends."

Godwin had maintained his unfriendly attitude towards Shelley since Mary's elopement, but he was not only willing, but desirous, that Shelley should raise money for him at exorbitant rates on his expectations. Shelley's frequent letters to him at this time, which were entirely restricted to the business of finding money for him, were written in a stiff, formal style such as one might adopt in writing to a stranger, but there is nothing in them to which exception could be taken. Godwin refused to accept Shelley's plea for a reconciliation, and their correspondence continued in the same cold strain.

Shelley and Mary took with them their little boy, William, and Clare Clairmont. They reached Paris by May 8th, and then went over the same route that they had traversed on foot in 1814, through Troyes and as far as Neufchâtel. Here another road was taken, through Dijon, Dôle, Poligny, Champagnolles,

Les Rousses to Geneva, where they put up at the Hôtel de Sécheron. At the end of May they moved from the hotel to a cottage—the Champagne Chapuis, or Champagne Monte Alègre—some two miles from Geneva, on the border of the Lake, and separated from the water's edge by a small garden. Byron had arrived at Geneva on May 25th, about ten days after Shelley, having left England for the last time on April 25th. He found the attentions of the British tourists so distasteful that he soon moved to the Villa Diodati, near where Shelley was living. The two poets met for the first time on May 27th. Shelley had sent a copy of *Queen Mab*, with a letter, to Byron, who received the book without the letter, and expressed warm admiration for the opening lines of the poem.

Shelley had departed from England without informing Whitton. He wrote, however, towards the end of May, to Longdill requesting him to suggest through Whitton that his father should increase his income by £500 a year. Mr. Whitton wrote on May 30th to inform Sir Timothy of this suggestion, and said: "It is scarcely to be believed that a young man could be so inconsiderate." Whitton, who thought Shelley's "departure without the least intimation very wrong," told Sir Timothy he had informed Longdill that he "thought the proposal would justify and in all probability would induce you to say that you would not

mingle yourself with him in any manner, as it is most evident no liberality on your part can or will influence him to a conduct consistent with his rank in life." The two lawyers agreed that a loan of £2000, which Sir Timothy had promised Bysshe, should stand over till he returned to England. Shelley probably wanted his allowance increased for the support of his two children by Harriet, but he was given to understand that he need not expect Sir Timothy would augment his allowance, so Shelley now wrote, through Longdill, with regard to the promised loan, requesting that any deeds necessary to be executed might be sent to him by a special messenger on account of the length of the journey. He also said that his health was receiving great benefit from the climate. Whitton, in conveying this information to Sir Timothy, remarked: "I cannot learn that Mr. Shelley hath or that he proposes to make any arrangement or allowance for the support or care of his children, and I do not think it desirable for you to involve yourself with securities for or from him, and the rather as the expenses will be considerable, and he may by and by think proper to make observations that would give pain to those who wished to serve him."

Whitton wrote to Longdill stating that Sir Timothy refused to send the deeds to Switzerland for execution, and that he declined to receive from Shelley any

security or to enter into any pecuniary account during his absence. He added that Sir Timothy had expected his son "would have made out of his present means a suitable provision for the support of his children and not have quitted the country as he hath been informed without making any such provision." [1]

On August 16th Whitton again wrote to Sir Timothy, enclosing a copy of a letter which he had received from Shelley. The letter is not forthcoming, but in sending the copy, Whitton wrote regarding it: "The laboured civility and pretence of return on account of the £400 is too apparent when you recollect the contents of my letter to you." This amount was the half-yearly instalment of Shelley's allowance, which no doubt he thought might be suspended if he delayed his return. On August 29th, Shelley, Mary, Clare, and William departed from Geneva, and arrived at Versailles on September 2nd. After visiting the Palace and gardens they made their way without touching Paris to Havre, and from thence they crossed to Portsmouth, reaching that place on September 7th. Here they parted, Shelley going to London, and afterwards to Marlow on a visit to Peacock, while Mary, Clare, William, and the Swiss nurse Elise went to Bath. On September 16th, Whitton

[1] Mary wrote in her diary on August 2nd, two days before Shelley's twenty-fourth birthday, that he received on that date a letter from Longdill requiring his return to England: "This put us in very bad spirits."

announced to Sir Timothy Shelley's return, saying that he had been in town for a few days.

On September 24, 1816, in consideration of the Transfer by Richard Whitton into the name of the poet of £3500 3 per cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, Shelley mortgaged to Richard Whitton his reversionary interests in the estates comprised in the Settlements of 1782 and 1791. Richard Whitton was a son of William Whitton, and his name was inserted in such mortgage as Trustee for Sir Timothy, to whom the sum of stock in fact belonged. The Transfer of this stock appears to have been substituted for the suggested loan of £2000. Shelley at this date (Sep. 24) was much pressed for money, and it would seem that Whitton advanced him £1700 pending the sale of the stock. In granting the loan, Sir Timothy made an indispensable condition that Shelley should pay all his debts. This arrangement therefore rendered it impossible for him to supply Godwin with a sum of £300 which he had promised him, but he sent, as he said, "within a few pounds, the wrecks of my late negotiation with my father."[1]

On the same day (Sep. 24) Shelley made a will whereby he bequeathed to his trustees, Lord Byron and Thomas Love Peacock, a sum of £6000 upon trust that they should, during the life of his wife, Harriet Shelley, pay

[1] Shelley to Godwin, Bath, October 2, 1816.

the same to Harriet, to the intent that the same might be for her separate use, independently of any husband with whom she might intermarry after his decease. He bequeathed to his executors, Lord Byron and Thomas Love Peacock, £5000 in trust for his son, Charles Bysshe Shelley, to vest and to be paid on his attaining the age of twenty-one. He bequeathed to his trustees £5000 in trust for his daughter, Ianthe Shelley, to vest and be paid on her attaining twenty-one. He bequeathed to Mary Jane Clairmont (sister-in-law of his residuary legatee) £6000, and he also bequeathed unto his trustees the sum of £6000 upon trust to invest the same in the purchase of an annuity for the life of the said Mary Jane Clairmont and the life of such other person as the said Mary Jane Clairmont should name (if she should be pleased to name one), and to pay the said annuity to the said Mary Jane Clairmont during her life, and after her death to pay the said annuity, in case the same should not have run out, to such person as the said Mary Jane Clairmont should by her will appoint. To Thomas Jefferson Hogg of the Inner Temple he bequeathed £2000, and a similar sum to Lord Byron. To T. L. Peacock he gave £500, and to his trustees he bequeathed £2000 upon trust to invest the same in the purchase of an annuity for the life of the said T. L. Peacock, and the life of such other person

as he should name (if he should be pleased to name one), upon trust for the exclusive benefit of the said Thomas Love Peacock in the like manner before directed as to the before-mentioned annuity and for his appointees after his death. The residue of his real and personal estate he devised and bequeathed unto Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, of Skinner Street in the City of London, spinster. He declared that the provision made for his said wife Harriet Shelley should be accepted by her in lieu and satisfaction of all dower which she might be entitled to out of his real estate. He also declared that the legacies therein before given should not be paid until the said Mary W. Godwin should be in possession of his real estate devised to her, and not for four years thereafter, if during such period of four years she should duly pay interest on the said legacies at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum. And he appointed Lord Byron and Peacock his executors.

After Harriet's death, Shelley, on February 18, 1817, executed another will. The sums bequeathed in trust to his executors Byron and Peacock for his children Charles Bysshe and Ianthe were increased to £6000 each, and a similar sum was bequeathed in trust for the benefit of his son William. The residue of his estate was left to his wife. The other bequests, including the bequests of the two sums of £6000 in favour

of Miss Clairmont, are the same as in the first will. It has been suggested, in some quarters, that the second sum of £6000 to Miss Clairmont was left to her "by an error in drawing up the document," but there does not seem to be the slightest foundation for this suggestion.

Having executed his first will Shelley rejoined Mary at Bath, but shortly after his return, he and Mary received a crushing blow by the death of Fanny Godwin under distressing circumstances. After Mary's departure with Shelley from the Godwin household, Fanny's life had become unendurable owing to Mrs. Godwin's ungovernable temper and malicious tongue. Godwin, who loved the girl as if she had been his own daughter, was so incessantly occupied with his literary work that he was probably not able to spare her much of his time; she was consequently at Mrs. Godwin's mercy, as Clare was seldom at home. Early in October Fanny had suddenly left home, and had travelled through Bath and Bristol to Swansea, ostensibly with the intention of visiting an aunt in Ireland. She did not stop at Bath to see the Shelleys, but she wrote to Mary from Bristol a letter full of such ominous hints that Shelley in alarm immediately set out for that town. He returned, however, to Bath without obtaining any tidings of her, and again went to Bristol on October 10th, but it was not until two days later that he brought Mary

the news of her unhappy sister's death. On Fanny's arrival at the Mackworth Arms Inn, Swansea, on the night of October 9th, she had retired to rest, and she was found the next morning lying dead with a laudanum bottle beside her. Shelley's grief at Fanny's death was deep and lasting. He remained at Bath until December 6th, when he came up to town on a visit to Leigh Hunt at Hampstead. After spending a few enjoyable days with his newly-made friend, he went to see Peacock at Marlow, where he succeeded in finding a house in which some weeks later he settled.

On December 14th, Shelley went back to Bath ; he had barely recovered from the shock of Fanny's death, and on the day after his return he received the following letter from Hookham, conveying the news that Harriet was dead:

T. Hookham, junr., to P. B. Shelley[1]

OLD BOND STREET,
Dec. 13, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR,—It is nearly a month since I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you, and you have no doubt felt surprised that I did not reply to it sooner. It was my intention to do so, but on enquiry I found the utmost difficulty in obtaining the information you desire relative to Mrs. Shelley and your children.

[1] This letter is from Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 67.

While I was yet endeavouring to discover Mrs. Shelley's address, information was brought to me that she was dead—that she had destroyed herself. You will believe that I did not credit the report. I called at the house of a friend of Mr. Westbrook ; my doubt led to conviction. I was informed she was taken from the Serpentine river on Tuesday last . . .[1] Little or no information was laid before the jury which sat on the body. She was called Harriet Smith, and the verdict was *found drowned*.[2]

Your children are well, and are both, I believe, in London.

This shocking communication must stand single and alone in the letter which I now address you : I have no inclination to fill it with subjects comparatively trifling : you will judge of my feelings and excuse the brevity of this communication.—Yours very truly,

T. Hookham, Junr.

There is apparently nothing to show that Shelley had seen Harriet since his return to England, but he was in touch with her during his absence abroad, if not personally, through his solicitor and through Peacock, who had attempted to arrange her affairs. Shelley had, moreover, made a provision for her in his will. As Hookham's letter shows, early in November Shelley had written to him asking for information of Harriet

[1] Professor Dowden states that the words omitted here have no reference to Shelley.

[2] The verdict in fact was "Found Dead."

and the children. Hookham, however, had failed to obtain any tidings of her, as she apparently had left her father's house, and about the 9th of September, that is, two days after Shelley's return from the Continent, she had taken lodgings at 7 Elizabeth Street, Hans Place, Chelsea. On November 9th she left the lodgings never to return, and on December 10th her body was taken out of the Serpentine.

The veil that for so many years obscured the last days of Harriet Shelley has been partially lifted by the recent discovery, through the diligence of Mr. Charles Withall, of the official papers relating to the coroner's inquest on her body.[1] The inquest was held by John Henry Gell, the Coroner, at the house of Thomas Phillips, known by the sign of the Fox, Knightsbridge, on Wednesday, December 11, 1816, Harriet Shelley's name being given as that of Harriet Smith. This inn, which seems to have been called the Fox and Bull, formerly stood west of what is now known as Albert Gate, and was for many years the receiving house of the Royal Humane Society. There was an old wooden gate at the back, opening into Hyde Park, and it was through this gate that the bodies of persons drowned in the Serpentine were conveyed. It was said that Harriet was known to the landlord's daughter, Miss Mary Ann Phillips, and for that reason her remains were treated

[1] See Appendix for copies of the original documents.

with especial tenderness, and spared the degrading burial "then awarded to the suicide."[1]

About September 9th, Harriet, accompanied by a Mr. Alder, had taken the second floor in the house of Mrs. Jane Thomas, a widow, at 7 Elizabeth Street, Hans Place, Chelsea.[2] Harriet stated that she was married and that her husband was abroad. She engaged the rooms from month to month, and had been with Mrs. Thomas about nine weeks on November 9th, and on the Thursday preceding that date, she paid her month's rent. Mrs. Thomas stated that Harriet appeared to be enceinte, and that while she lived with her she was very gloomy. Mary Jones, Mrs. Thomas's servant, spoke of Harriet's continual lowness of spirits, that she said very little and chiefly spent her time in bed; that she saw nothing but what was proper in her conduct. That on Saturday, November 9th, after having breakfasted, Harriet told Mary Jones that she wished to dine early, consequently the meal was prepared for her by about four o'clock; that she was not, however, occupied with it more than ten minutes. The maid observed that on going into her room at five o'clock Harriet was not there. She had gone out without taking leave of anyone, and was not seen again.

[1] Davis' *Memorials of Knightsbridge*, 1859. I am indebted to Mr. Walter H. Whitear of Chiswick for this interesting reference.

[2] In a deed among the Shelley-Whitton papers dated May 1, 1815, Shelley is described as of Hans Place, Chelsea.

William Alder, a plumber, who lodged at the Fox public-house, stated that he knew the deceased. It was he who had accompanied her when she took the apartments at Elizabeth Street. He appears to have been in her confidence, for he knew she was about twenty-one years of age, had been married about five years, and was living apart from her husband. Alder also stated, as he was informed, that Harriet had been missing from her house upwards of a month; that at the request of her parents, after she had been absent about a week, he dragged the Serpentine and all the other ponds near thereto without any result. Alder, like other witnesses, noticed that Harriet had for some time laboured under lowness of spirits, which, he said, he "had observed for several months before," and he "conceived that something lay heavy on her mind." On hearing that a body had been found, Alder went to look at it, and recognised it as the missing woman. The body was discovered by John Levesley of 38 Dannings Alley, Bishopsgate Street Within, an out-pensioner of Chelsea Hospital. About ten o'clock on Tuesday morning, December 10th, as he was walking by the side of the Serpentine on his way to Kensington, he noticed something floating in the water, which he conceived was a human body. He therefore called to a boy on the opposite side of the water to bring over his boat, which he did after some time, to the side on

which Levesley stood, whereupon he got into the boat and found that the floating object was the dead body of a woman ; he had no doubt that it must have lain in the water for some days.

As there were no marks of violence on the body, and there was an absence of evidence how or by what means the deceased met her death, a verdict was returned of " Found dead in the Serpentine River."

The *Times* of December 12, 1816, the day after the inquest, contains the following :

" On Tuesday [December 10th] a respectable female far advanced in pregnancy was taken out of the Serpentine River and brought home to her residence in Queen Street, Brompton, having been missed for nearly six weeks. She had a valuable ring on her finger. A want of honour in her own conduct is supposed to have led to this fatal catastrophe, her husband being abroad."

The reference to Harriet's condition in this statement is not borne out by the evidence given at the inquest, the only allusion being that of her landlady, whose words were : " She appeared in the family way." From Alder's evidence it is clear that the family were acquainted with Harriet's whereabouts after she had left Chapel Street, but it does not appear whether she had kept them informed of her address or how they became aware of it. Harriet was evi-

dently known by the name of Smith at her lodgings, as she was so described at the inquest. If the Westbrooks knew of her death before the inquest, they refrained from disclosing her real name, apparently in order to conceal her identity. Harriet's death could hardly have taken place immediately after she left her lodgings, otherwise her body would scarcely have been recognisable, after being in the water for a month. Where was she living in the meantime?

In an unpublished passage contained in a letter written by Shelley to Mary after the inquest, he said that Harriet had been driven from her father's house by the persecution of her sister, who wished to secure Mr. Westbrook's fortune for herself, and that Harriet, having lived with a groom of the name of Smith, had been deserted by him.[1] If Shelley believed that Harriet had been living with another man, it is more than probable that he concluded that the man's name was Smith.

Perhaps the explanation of her adopting the name of Smith may be gathered from the following entries

[1] It is significant that Thornton Hunt, in his article "Shelley; by one who knew him," *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1863, wrote: "If she left him" [meaning, I suppose, if Harriet was the first to break her union with Shelley, as she undoubtedly was, when she went off to Bath with her little girl in July 1814], "it would appear that she herself was deserted in turn by a man in a very humble grade of life; and it was in consequence of this desertion that she killed herself." Mr. Swinburne in his article on Shelley in *Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature*, 1903, vol. iii. p. 107, refers to Harriet as "the wife who had deserted" Shelley.

under the year 1816 in the register of burials in the parish of Paddington :

Name.	Abode.	When Buried.	Age.	By whom the Ceremony Performed.
Benjamin Smith. 1380	Mount Street, St. George's, Hanover Square	December 11	54	Jos. Pickering, Perpetual Curate
Harriett Smith. 1383	Mount Street, St. George's, Hanover Square	December 13	21	Jos. Pickering. Perpetual Curate

That the second of these entries relates to Harriet Shelley there can be but little doubt. She was accustomed at times to spell her name with the double *t*,[1] she was twenty-one at the date of her death, and Mount Street was close to her father's residence and in the neighbourhood of *The Mount* coffee-house, where he had made his fortune. Perhaps Benjamin Smith, who is described as a shopkeeper or painter and glazier of 61 Mount Street,[2] was an old acquaint-

[1] She was christened "Harriet," but Shelley in his letter to Medwin, October 21, 1811, wrote: "The maiden name is Harriett Westbrook, with two *t*'s—Harriett."

[2] In Johnstone's *Commercial Directory* corrected to August 31, 1817, the name of Benjamin Smith does not appear. In Johnstone's *Triennial Directory* for 1817, 1818, 1819, and again for 1822, 1823, 1824, the name of Benjamin Smith of Mount Street, Shopkeeper, appears, but the number of the house is not there stated. Perhaps Smith's business was carried on after his death, his name being retained.

ance of the Westbrooks, and he may have received her into his family after she had left her lodgings. It is inconceivable, if the relations between Harriet and Smith had been such as Shelley believed, that she should have gone to live practically next door to her father's house. Benjamin Smith, moreover, was thirty-three years Harriet's senior, and she was not destitute.

Harriet Shelley's place of burial has not hitherto been revealed. Mr. Whitton's successor, Mr. Gregson, according to his diary for 1856, was unable to ascertain where she was interred, although inquiries were made of Hookham and Miss Clairmont. The following reference, however (which had evidently escaped the notice of Mr. Gregson), contained in a letter, dated July 8, 1823, from Mr. Powell (the solicitor to Shelley's executors) to Mr. Whitton, "Mrs. Shelley was buried, I understand, at Paddington," led to a search being made there recently in the name of Harriet Smith. The place of burial of a person living at Hans Place would have been at St. Luke's, Chelsea, and at Mount Street, in the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, in the burial-ground at the back of Mount Street. It was not unusual for persons to be buried outside their parishes, and perhaps the Westbrooks may have wished that Harriet's funeral should not take place in the burial-ground so near to their house.

The Death of Harriet

On making inquiries at Paddington, Mr. Charles Withall was informed that, when it was proposed to convert the churchyard into a recreation ground, the local authorities had a plan made showing the position of the various graves, and they kept a record of such inscriptions as were decipherable on the tombstones. In this record there is no entry of "Harriett Smith," but there is an entry of a flat stone, bearing the name HARRIETT, the remainder of the inscription being entirely obliterated. The position of this grave is in the north portion of the churchyard on the east side, and second from the grave, in a northerly direction, of a person of the name of Holloway, whose gravestone is still visible. On converting the churchyard the representatives of Holloway claimed to retain the stone of his grave *in situ;* the unclaimed tombstones (and Harriet's was one of these) were buried three feet below their original positions. The register of graves belonging to the church is missing.

The idea of suicide with Harriet must have been an obsession: she had contemplated it since her school-days as a solution to her troubles, and later she seems to have discussed it as a means of escape from the weariness of life. In a letter from Shelley to Miss Hitchener, written in October 1811, when referring to the causes that led to his marriage with Harriet, he said: "Suicide was with her a favourite theme."

Hogg also especially noticed how her mind continually ran on self-destruction. It is not surprising, then, in the circumstances in which she found herself during the early days of December 1816, that she should have taken her life. The Serpentine would have been familiar to her owing to its proximity to her lodgings at Chelsea.

Shelley went to London on the same day that the news of Harriet's death reached him, to claim his children, who were in the keeping of the Westbrooks. He wrote to Mary on the following day, saying that he had " spent a day of somewhat agonizing sensations, such as the contemplation of vice and folly and hard-heartedness, exceeding all conception, must produce. Leigh Hunt has been with me all day, and his delicate attentions to me, his kind speeches of you, have sustained me against the weight of the horror of this event. . . . It is through you that I can entertain without despair the recollections of the horrors of unutterable villany that led to this dark, dreadful death." Shelley's allusion to hard-heartedness was evidently directed to Eliza Westbrook.

Leigh Hunt, who should have been in a position to speak of the effect of Harriet's death on Shelley, said that " it was a heavy blow to him, and he never forgot it. For a time, it tore his being to pieces: nor is there any doubt that, however deeply he was accus-

tomed to reason on the nature and causes of evil, and on the steps necessary to be taken for opposing it, he was not without remorse for having no better exercised his judgment with regard to the degree of intellect he had allied himself with and for having given rise to a premature independence of conduct in one unequal to the task." In other words, Shelley admitted that, in having married Harriet, he had made a grave mistake, and a mistake, moreover, which proved to be the source of tragedy and endless misfortune.

Shelley did not regard himself as responsible for his wife's tragic end. In writing to Southey some years later, who had called him to account for this tragedy, he said: "I take God to witness, if such a Being is now regarding both you and me, and I pledge myself, if we meet, as perhaps you expect, before Him after death, to repeat the same in His presence—that you accuse me wrongfully. I am innocent of ill, either done or intended; the consequences you allude to flowed in no respect from me. If you were my friend I could tell you a history that would make you open your eyes; but I shall certainly never make the public my familiar confidant."[1] Shelley had made for Harriet a provision which, with the allowance from her father, amounted to £400 per annum. Even if she had not

[1] Shelley to R. Southey, August 20, 1820.

lived with her two children at Mr. Westbrook's house, this sum should have been adequate. Shelley was told by Godwin in January 1817 that he had evidence of Harriet's unfaithfulness to him four months before he eloped with Mary Godwin, but one ought not to place much reliance on Godwin's testimony, as he was an interested witness. Harriet had her advocates in Peacock, Hookham, and Thornton Hunt. All believed that she was not unfaithful to Shelley before he eloped with Mary Godwin, and they have as much right to be heard as Godwin.[1] In later years many have pleaded Harriet's cause, but none with such simple eloquence as Mr. William Watson in his couplets:

> "A star looked down from heaven and loved a flower
> Grown in earth's garden—loved it for an hour:
> Let eyes which trace his orbit in the spheres
> Refuse not, to a ruined rosebud, tears."

[1] Trelawny in his *Records of Shelley, Byron and the Author*, 1878, vol. i. p. 15, wrote: "I was assured by the evidence of the few friends who knew both Shelley and his wife—Hookham, who kept the great library in Bond Street, Jefferson Hogg, Peacock, and one of the Godwins—that Harriet was perfectly innocent of all offence.'

CHAPTER XVI

MARLOW

Shelley's second marriage—The Chancery case—Guardians for the children—Charles Bysshe Shelley goes to school—His death—Ianthe Shelley—John Westbrook's death and will—Shelley's life at Marlow—*Laon and Cythna*—Clare Clairmont—Godwin's debts—Shelley arrested for debt—"The Hermit of Marlow" pamphlets—The Shelleys depart from Marlow—Christening the children—Leave-taking in London.

SHELLEY not only failed to obtain possession of his children, but he anticipated the possibility of the Westbrooks contesting his claim for them. He wrote [1] to Mary: "If they should dare to bring it before Chancery, a scene of such fearful horror would be unfolded as would cover them with scorn and shame." Shelley was told by his solicitor that all pretence to detain the children would cease in the event of his marriage to Mary Godwin, but the marriage was hastened by other causes.

Notwithstanding that Godwin had formerly expressed an abhorrence of marriage vows, he had himself married Mary Wollstonecraft, and after her death he had gone through the ceremony, for a second time, with Mrs. Clairmont. He did not disguise his desire

[1] Shelley to Mary, Dec. 16, 1816.

that his daughter Mary should marry Shelley, now that he was free, and he wished that the ceremony should take place without delay. Mary acquiesced, realising that until she was married she could not hope for, what she earnestly desired, a reconciliation with her father. Clare Clairmont stated that the question whether the marriage of Shelley should take place at once or be delayed was put before Sir Lumley Skeffington, to whom, without mentioning any names, the circumstances were explained. Sir Lumley, who advised them to marry at once, had enjoyed, at one time, notoriety as a leader of fashion, but his advice was sought, perhaps, because he was both a man of the world and a man of honour.

The marriage, therefore, was hurried on, and it took place on December 30th by licence[1] at St. Mildred's Church, Bread Street, a London street which is also identified with England's other great republican poet, Milton, who was born there in 1608. The morning of the day before the ceremony was spent by Shelley and Mary at the Hunts', and the evening was passed by them, ' not unpleasantly," at Skinner Street with the Godwins. The Godwins' hospitality to the bridal pair included breakfast before they started for the church, also dinner and supper after their return. Godwin was undoubtedly gratified by the marriage,

[1] A copy of the licence will be found in the Appendix.

and he recorded the event in his diary with something less than even his accustomed brevity: "Call at Mildred w[ith] P. B. S., M. W. G., and M. J."

The following is the entry in the church register:

Percy Bysshe Shelley, of the Parish of Saint Mildred Bread Street London Widower and Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin of the City of Bath Spinster a Minor, were married in this Church by Licence, with the consent of William Godwin her Father this Thirtieth Day of December in the Year One thousand eight hundred and Sixteen.

By me Wm. Heydon, *Curate.*

This Marriage was solemnized between us { Percy Bysshe Shelley. / Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.

In the Presence of { William Godwin. / M. J. Godwin.

After the ceremony Shelley wrote to Clare, who was at Bath, saying that he should return to that place with Mary on January 1, 1817. He told her that "The Ceremony, so magical, was undergone this morning at St. Mildred's church in the City. Mrs. G. and G. were both present, and appeared to feel no little satisfaction. Indeed Godwin throughout has shown the most polished and courteous attentions to me and Mary. He seems to think no kindness too great in compensation for what has passed. I confess I am not entirely

deceived by this, though I cannot make my vanity wholly insensible to certain attentions paid in a manner studiously flattering. Mrs. G. presents herself to me in her real attributes of affectation, prejudice, and heartless pride. Towards her, I confess I never feel an emotion of anything but antipathy. Her sweet daughter [that is, Clare] is very dear to me."

Shelley had now made repeated demands to the Westbrooks for his children, without avail. The result of these applications was that the Westbrooks at once took steps to make the children wards of Court. As a preliminary step, on January 2, 1817, John Westbrook executed a settlement of £2000 four per cent. annuities in favour of Harriet's children, Eliza Ianthe and Charles Bysshe. The parties to the settlement were John Westbrook of the first part, the infant children of the second part, and Elizabeth Westbrook and John Higham of Grosvenor Street of the third part.

On January 10th the infants, by John Westbrook (their next friend), filed a Bill in Chancery against Elizabeth Westbrook and John Higham (the trustees of the settlement), Percy Bysshe Shelley (their father), Sir Timothy Shelley (their paternal grandfather), and John Westbrook (their maternal grandfather), praying that the Court might appoint John Westbrook and Eliza Westbrook, or some other proper

persons, to act as their guardians, and that their father might be restrained from taking possession of their persons.[1]

Mr. Whitton conveyed this information to Sir Timothy in a letter dated January 17, 1817, in which he wrote :

"I had wished to have spared you all consideration of the concerns of Mr. P. B. Shelley, but as Mr. Westbrook hath filed a Bill against him to restrain him from taking the custody of the children and that a guardian may be appointed to them on the ground of Mr. P. B. Shelley's tenets, I do not think myself justified in withholding that information, as the subject will be heard on Tuesday morning in his Lordship's private room in the hope that the ground of the application may not be made publick. To support this application the publication of *Queen Mab*, and a printed letter addressed to Lord Ellenborough in justification of Daniel Isaac Eaton who was lately convicted of publishing blasphemous works deriding the Christian religion are produced. They have also

[1] Among the Shelley-Whitton papers there are the following documents relating to the Shelley and Westbrook case: Public Record copies of the Bill of Complaint (Jan. 8, 1817); Answer of P. B. Shelley (Jan. 18, 1817); Answer of John Westbrook (Jan. 18, 1817); Master's Report (April 28, 1818); Second affidavit of Elizabeth Westbrook (Jan. 13, 1817); Affidavit of P. W. Longdill (May 24, 1821); also contemporary office copies of Elizabeth Westbrook's affidavit (Jan. 10, 1817); and affidavit of John Westbrook and Mr. Morphett (Feb. 24, 1818); Order for messenger to bring Shelley's infant son into court (Mar. 2, 1815); Copy order directing Sir Timothy, out of the annual sum of £1000 payable by him to his son, to pay £120 per annum to Mr. Hume, and also certain arrears due to him (April 19, 1821).

exhibited several letters written to the late Mrs. Shelley—all tending to show his, Mr. P. B. Shelley's, total unfitness for the care he seeks. These documents are so introduced as not to put them before the publick, but whether their tendency shall be preserved in the breast of the few who are professionally concerned I know not. I have endeavoured to awaken Mr. Shelley through Mr. Longdill to the perils of his present conduct: for I understand it is intended that he should oppose the application of Mr. Westbrook, which will necessarily lead to an exposure of his unworthy thoughts and actions, and I know not what a Court of Justice may be induced to the author of so much unjustifiable matter as is stated throughout the pages of his books. What effect remonstrances or rather the observations I have made will have I know not; but most certain am I that the Lord Chancellor will not allow him to have the care of or communication with his own children. He says that it is merely from a feeling of resentment that this measure is taken, and that Mr. Westbrook and his daughter are equally unfit with himself to have the care of infants from the turpitude of their own conduct. I think that Miss Westbrook is unworthy and Mr. Westbrook is unequal to the care whatever his will may be. In these circumstances a stranger must be resorted to, and I can easily conceive that the Lord Chancellor will look to you as the superintending protector of these little unoffending creatures. Can you be in town, or will you furnish me with your sentiments? Mr. Westbrook has settled £2000 £4 p.c. on the children in order to bring them within the protection of the Court. Any sum, however small, would have been sufficient."

Whitton's statement covers the chief points in the Bill of Complaint. The Bill relates, however, that while Harriet was expecting the birth of her son Charles, "Shelley became acquainted with a Mr. Godwin, the author of a work called *Political Justice*, and with Mary his daughter, and that the said Percy Bysshe Shelley about three years ago deserted his said wife and unlawfully cohabited with the said Mary Godwin," and that Harriet thereupon returned with Ianthe to her father's house, where she afterwards gave birth to Charles Bysshe, and that the children had since continued and were then in the custody of John Westbrook and his daughter Eliza, and that since Harriet was deserted by her husband "until a short time previously to the time of her death she lived with the said John Westbrook her father and that in the month of December she died." It also stated that Shelley had lived, since he deserted his wife, "with the said Mary Godwin and is now unlawfully cohabiting with her and has had several illegitimate children by her." That Sir Timothy Shelley did, in the year 1815, concur with the said Percy Bysshe Shelley in making a settlement of certain estates whereby the said Percy Bysshe Shelley became and was then entitled to a yearly charge or annuity of £1000, subject to the payment thereout of the yearly sum of £200 to Harriet, and that Sir Timothy had contracted to make some

provision for the children, who, while they lived with Mr. Westbrook, were supported partly by him and partly by their mother. That since the death of Harriet, Shelley had demanded the children, and should they be delivered up to him he intended to educate them as he thought proper.

Eliza Westbrook in her first affidavit (dated January 10, 1817) swore that she was well acquainted with the handwriting of Percy Bysshe Shelley, having seen him frequently write, and she identified certain specified letters [1] as being in Shelley's handwriting and addressed to her sister Harriet, his late wife; and she stated that the female mentioned in the letters under the designation of "Mary" was Mary Godwin, with whom Shelley in the lifetime of his wife and about the middle of the year 1814 took to cohabit with him, and had ever since continued to cohabit, and still did cohabit, with him. Eliza also swore that another specified letter was in the handwriting of Shelley, and was addressed by him to the defendant, Eliza Westbrook, after the decease of her sister, the late wife of the defendant, Percy Bysshe Shelley, and that the person referred to in this letter as "the Lady whose union with the said defendant this Deponent might excusably

[1] These letters, nine in number, have unfortunately disappeared. It is not the practice of the courts to file exhibits, consequently copies of them are not to be found at the Record Office. The originals would have remained with the Westbrooks' solicitors.

regard as the cause of her sister's ruin " was also the said Mary Godwin. She also swore that the copy of *Queen Mab* with the subjoined notes and *A Letter to Lord Ellenborough* were written and published by Shelley, she having frequently seen the manuscript of such respective books in the handwriting of the said defendant, and having repeatedly seen him engaged in writing the same, and that these books then produced were presented by the defendant to his late wife, and that since her death she had received several applications from the said defendant Percy Bysshe Shelley, and from Mr. Leigh Hunt on his behalf, demanding the infant plaintiffs to be delivered to the said defendant, Percy Bysshe Shelley.

In Eliza Westbrook's second affidavit (dated January 13, 1817) she swore that Shelley had married Harriet in August 1811, and that after the birth of Eliza Ianthe, and while Harriet was pregnant with Charles Bysshe, Shelley deserted his wife, and, as she [Eliza] " hath been informed and verily believes," unlawfully cohabited with Mary Godwin. That thereupon the said Harriet had returned to the house of her father, John Westbrook, with Eliza Ianthe, where soon afterwards she gave birth to Charles Bysshe. That the children continued and were at the date of the affidavit in the care and protection of John Westbrook. That Harriet had remained at the house of

her father and in his protection from the time of her desertion "until a short time previously to her death . . . and that in the month of December last she died." She also swore that while the children lived at their grandfather's they were partly supported by their mother and partly by Mr. Westbrook, who, in order to make some provision for them, had transferred the sum of £2000 four per cent. bank annuities into the names of her, the said Eliza Westbrook, and of John Higham, upon the trusts contained in the said indenture of January 2, 1817. In the sworn answer (dated January 8, 1817) of Eliza Westbrook and John Higham they said that they were ready and willing to transfer the stock into court. In John Westbrook's sworn answer he admitted that he had transferred the above-named sum into the names of Eliza Westbrook and John Higham, that he claimed the interest in the said bank annuities by virtue of the trusts of the said indenture, and denied any unlawful combination and confederacy with the complainants in the Bill of Complaint.

Shelley's sworn answer is dated January 18, 1817. He stated that after the birth of Eliza Ianthe Shelley he and Harriet "agreed, in consequence of certain differences between them, to live separate and apart from each other," but he denied that he deserted his late wife "otherwise than by separating from her as

aforesaid." He admitted that after the separation Harriet returned to her father's house with Eliza Ianthe Shelley, and that Charles Bysshe Shelley was afterwards born as stated in the Bill of Complaint, that at Harriet's urgent entreaty he permitted the children "to reside with her under her management and protection after her separation," although "he was very anxious from his affection for his children to have them under his care and management during his said wife's life but that he forbore so to do in compliance with the wishes of his wife and on account of their tender age, intending nevertheless to have them under his own care and to provide for their education himself as soon as they should be of a proper age or in case of the death of his said wife, never having in any manner abandoned or deserted them or had any intention of so doing. That if the children were then in the care of Eliza and John Westbrook they were so against his consent, and that they had been clandestinely placed in some place unknown to him, without his being able to find them or have access to them, and that since the death of his wife he had frequently applied to the said Elizabeth and John Westbrook and requested to have his children delivered up to him, and that they refused to deliver them up or to inform him where they were. He denied that he was unlawfully cohabiting with Mary Godwin,

whom he had married since Harriet's death, and he denied that Sir Timothy Shelley in the year 1815 concurred with him in making a settlement to the purport and effect in the said Bill of Complaint. That up to the month of June 1815 he had been in receipt from his father of an allowance of £200 per annum only, and that, in consequence, he had become indebted to certain persons in large sums of money amounting altogether to upwards of £5000, and that being pressed for payment and being totally unable to pay the sum he had applied to Sir Timothy, who by arrangement with him had advanced in June 1815 a considerable sum of money towards the payment of his debts and had secured to him an annuity of £1000 during the joint lives of himself and his father, by way of rent charges out of certain estates belonging to Sir Timothy. That although the children may have been supported partly by their mother and partly by John Westbrook, he (Shelley) had, on his father assisting him with money and increasing his allowance to £1000 a year, 'immediately' written to Sir Timothy and requested him to give directions to his bankers to pay to the order of the said Harriet Shelley the annual sum of £200 in quarterly payments out of his allowance, which was accordingly done: that the first instalment had been paid in June 1815, and that in the same month of June 1815, he had sent Harriet

the full sum of £200 with which to discharge her debts. That this allowance to his wife was regularly paid to Harriet to the time of her death. That if he got possession of the children he should educate them as he thought proper, which he intended to do 'virtuously' and properly, and to provide for their support and maintenance in a manner suitable to their birth and prospects in the world, and to the best of his judgment and ability; that he humbly submitted and insisted that being their father he was the natural guardian of his children, and that it was his duty to provide for their maintenance and education. That in order to make provision for the children sufficient to enable the said John Westbrook to contest his just right as the father and natural guardian of the children, but not further and as he believed for no other purpose, the said John Westbrook might have transferred the sum of £2000 bank annuities to Eliza Westbrook, John Higham and another mentioned in the Bill of Complaint for the benefit of such children, that his children were of such tender age that they could not from any reasonable ground of objection on their part be desirous that they should not be placed in his custody, not being of sufficient age, as he submitted and insisted, to judge for themselves either as to that or any other circumstances that could affect their future prospects or welfare in life. And he humbly submitted and

insisted that he was exclusively entitled to their custody and care, and that he ought not to be deprived thereof or to have his just rights as their father and natural guardian taken from him or abridged, and that they ought to be delivered up to him."

Sir Samuel Romilly, one of the leading members of the Chancery bar, was engaged for the Westbrooks. Charles Wetherell was Shelley's leading counsel, and he was supported by Basil Montagu and Mr. Bell, none of whom, unfortunately for Shelley, were so skilled as Romilly for eloquence and experience. Wetherell, who subsequently defended successfully James Watson in a high-treason case, was knighted some years later. Montagu was the learned editor of Bacon and the friend of Godwin and Charles Lamb, but he was no match for Romilly.

Reporters were not admitted to the court, but a short account of the proceedings appeared in the *Morning Chronicle,* probably from hearsay.

Mr. Wetherell's brief, which was prepared by Longdill, contains the following observations on the Bill of Complaint.[1] Little, it was admitted, could be said in defence of *Queen Mab,* but that it was written and printed by the author when he was only nine-

[1] The brief, in the possession of Mr. H. Buxton Forman, C.B., was quoted from at length in the *Life of Shelley* by Professor Dowden, of whose account of the Chancery proceedings I have ventured to make liberal use.

teen, and only distributed to personal friends; twenty copies, it appears, had got abroad. The copy referred to by Miss Westbrook was one that Shelley had given confidentially to his late wife. He had not been able to obtain a copy of the *Letter to Lord Ellenborough*, as only a few copies were printed and none ever circulated publicly. Notwithstanding Shelley's "violent philippics against the despotism of marriage," he had married twice before he was twenty-five, and was "no sooner liberated from the despotic chains, which he speaks of with so much horror and contempt, than he forges a new set and becomes a willing victim of this horrid despotism." It was hoped that a consideration of the difference between his speculative opinions and his actions would induce the Lord Chancellor not to think very seriously of this boyish and silly but entirely unjustifiable publication of *Queen Mab*. There appeared to be no case in which the Chancellor had exercised his right of taking the children from the care of their father solely on account of his religious opinions, and as Shelley had married Miss Godwin, the objection of his connection with her was at an end. No danger at present could be apprehended as to the effects of the father's religious opinions. Shelley was tenant in tail to the Shelley estates to the value probably of £8000, besides having not very remote prospects of a still larger

inheritance. If the children were taken from his care it might effect an estrangement of all parental affection on the one hand and filial piety on the other, and it was "feared that he might be led to look on the children which he might have by his present wife (one of whom was born during the life of the late Mrs. Shelley) as the sole objects of his affection, as well as of his pecuniary consideration." It was presumed that the petition of the Westbrooks for the custody of the children would not be granted, as Mr. Westbrook formerly kept a coffee-house. There were even greater objections to Miss Westbrook, who was described as "illiterate and vulgar," and it was by her "advice and active concurrence, and it may be said by her *management*, that Mr. Shelley when at the age of nineteen ran away with Miss Westbrook, then of the age of seventeen, and married her in Scotland. Miss Westbrook was then nearly thirty, and if she had acted as she ought to have done as the guardian and friend of her younger sister, all this misery and disgrace to both families would have been avoided."

The case was heard on Friday, January 24, 1817, before Lord Chancellor Eldon, who declared that he would give his decision on another day. Subsequently an application was made to him to deliver his judgment in his private room, and this he arranged to do.

While the decision was still in the balance, Shelley

wrote to Mary, on January 30th, in a depressed mood: "I have little doubt in my own mind but that they will succeed in the criminal part of the business—I mean that some such punishment as imprisonment and fine will be awarded me by a jury."

The Chancellor gave his judgment in writing on March 17, 1817. He stated that there was nothing in evidence before him to authorise him in thinking that Shelley had changed before he arrived at the age of twenty-five the principles he avowed at nineteen, that he thought there was ample evidence in the papers and the conduct that no such change had taken place. That this was a case in which, as the matter appeared to him, the father's principles could not be misunderstood, in which his conduct, which he (the Chancellor) could not but consider as highly immoral, had been established in proof, and established as the effect of those principles; conduct nevertheless which he represented to himself and others, not as conduct to be considered as immoral, but to be recommended and observed in practice and as worthy of approbation. He considered it, therefore, as a case in which the father had demonstrated that he must and did deem it to be a matter of duty which his duties imposed upon him, to recommend to those whose opinions and habits he might take upon himself to form, that conduct in some of the most important relations of life

as moral and virtuous, which the law called upon him (the Chancellor) to consider as immoral and vicious—conduct which the law animadverted upon as inconsistent with the duties of persons in such relations of life, and which it considered as injuriously affecting both the interests of such persons and those of the community.

That he could not therefore think that he would be justified in delivering over the children for their education exclusively to what was called the care to which Mr. Shelley wished it to be intrusted. That much had been said upon the fact that the children were of tender years. That in what degree and to what extent the Court would interfere in that case against parental authority could not be finally determined till after the Master's report. That in the meantime he restrained the father and his agents from taking possession of the persons of the infants or intermeddling with them till further order, and he referred it to the Master to inquire what would be a proper plan for the maintenance and education of the infants and also to inquire with whom and whose care the infants should remain during their minority or until further order.

Shelley had lost his case, and it now remained for him and for the Westbrooks to nominate guardians for the care and education of the children.

On August 1st the following proposals were laid before the Master in Chancery with regard to their education and for the appointment of a proper person under whose care they should be placed. Shelley, as defendant, nominated his solicitor, P. W. Longdill, and his wife for that position, and the plaintiffs proposed that the children should be placed in the family of the Rev. John Kendall, who was the Master of Lord Leycester's Hospital at Warwick, and Vicar of Budbroke. The children, as a matter of fact, at the time of Harriet Shelley's death were under the care of this Mr. Kendall. The Master certified that, as the children "would have a better chance of receiving such an education as would contribute to their future welfare and happiness in Mr. Kendall's family than if they were brought up according to the proposal under the directions of their father, he approved the proposal laid before him on behalf of the plaintiffs."

Mary Shelley, in writing to Mrs. Leigh Hunt on August 16th, says: "Our sensations of indignation have been a little excited this morning by the decision of the Master of Chancery. He says the children are to go to this old clergyman in Warwickshire, who is to stand instead of a parent. An old fellow whom no one knows and [who] never saw the children. This is somewhat beyond credibility did we not see it in black and white. Longdill is very angry that his

proposition is rejected, and means to appeal from the Master to the Lord Chancellor." Apparently Longdill made an appeal, for if he did not himself secure the custody of the children, it was decided that they should be removed from the care of Mr. Kendall.

Mr. Whitton wrote to Sir Timothy, on November 24th, to inform him that the Chancellor had refused to appoint either Mr. Longdill or Mr. Kendall as guardian of the children. The question of the custody of the children, however, was not settled till some months later. The Master in his report, dated April 28, 1818, stated that Mr. Westbrook had named the Rev. Jacob Cheesborough of Ulcombe, Kent, and his wife as suitable guardians, but the Master approved of the persons nominated by Shelley, namely Thomas Hume of Brent End Lodge, Hanwell, Doctor in Medicine, and Caroline his wife, " with whom and under whose care the infants shall remain during their minorities or until further Order of the Court."

Dr. Hume and Mr. Cheesborough both submitted proposals and plans for the education of the children to the Master, who gave his approval to Dr. and Mrs. Hume's scheme.[1] Dr. Hume proposed that the boy, who was then about three, should at the age of seven

[1] The following are the chief points of Dr. Hume's scheme from the Master's Report.

be placed at a good school to be instructed in the rudiments of the classics, in ancient and modern history, and be prepared for one of the large or public schools, whither he should be sent at a proper age, if circumstances permitted, to one of the universities. But with respect to placing him at the university, or by anticipation pointing out any particular profession or mode of life for the child, Dr. Hume considered it would be premature. In the choice of schools Dr. and Mrs. Hume would prefer one under the superintendence of an orthodox clergyman of the Church of England, but he did not consider the circumstance of the headmaster being a clergyman positively essential if there were other points of high recommendation in favour of an establishment.

With respect to the girl, then of the age of about five, it was suggested that she should be educated at home under the immediate eye of Mrs. Hume, who would herself instruct her in history, geography, and literature in general. The accomplishments of drawing, painting, music, singing, and dancing should receive all the attention they deserve, when the child displayed a capacity of receiving the necessary instructions; and the more homely employments of fancy work and sewing should not be neglected; domestic economy too should receive its share of attention. In short, Dr. and Mrs. Hume, feeling that a young mind

must be continually occupied, would endeavour to keep it occupied by those things which in some way or other lead to its improvement or to general usefulness. Upon the score of dress Dr. and Mrs. Hume would, if necessary, be very positive on the absolute necessity of resisting and disregarding the fashions of the day, if they included, as they do in their opinion at the present day, an apparent abandonment of all feelings of feminine delicacy and decency. Habitual neatness of dress they would require on the most private occasions, and an habitual decency of dress on all occasions. As to the general reading of the girl at a more advanced age, Dr. and Mrs. Hume would, as far as their influence extended, keep from her perusal all books that tended to shake her faith in any of the great points of the established religion. They would discountenance the reading of novels, except, perhaps, some few unexceptionable books of that sort. They would to a certain degree encourage the reading, and indeed the studying of some of our best poets, but with respect to Pope and some others Dr. Hume would take care that she was furnished with selections only. Of Shakespeare Dr. Hume understands an edition purified from its grossness has been published, and this edition he would put into her hand. He believes that an edition of Hume's *History of England* has lately been published in which his insidious attacks on religion are omitted,

and with this edition Dr. Hume would take care she was provided.

To the morals of the children Dr. and Mrs. Hume would pay particular attention, and would make instruction and discipline go hand in hand. They would endeavour strongly to impress on the children notions of modesty and self-diffidence, and to repress every feeling of vanity and self-sufficiency. They would endeavour to inculcate in them high notions of the value of a character for truth and personal honour, and a thorough detestation of affectation, deceitfulness, and falsehood. Dr. and Mrs. Hume conceived it was the duty of a parent and guardian, among other things, in not countenancing—and, indeed, in not tolerating—any irreverent allusions in matters of religion. On the subject of religion they would bring up the children in the faith and tenets of the Church of England ; they would deem it an imperative duty to inculcate on them solemn, serious, and orthodox notions of religion, but at the same time they would be cautious not prematurely to lead their unripe minds to that momentous subject. To a morning and evening prayer and thanksgiving, and to grace before and after meals, they would regularly accustom the children, and would take occasion to inculcate on them general religious feeling without bringing to their notice controversial points that might excite doubts

which they would be unable to solve. What is clearly revealed they would teach them fervently to embrace. A regular attendance at Divine Service on Sundays Dr. and Mrs. Hume would (when the children arrive at a proper age) consider an indispensable duty.

With respect to the intercourse to be permitted between Mr. Shelley and his children, the Lord Chancellor having intimated that he should suspend his judgment as to how far and in what degree he would in this case interfere, Dr. and Mrs. Hume would feel it their bounden duty implicitly to obey the order and directions of the Lord Chancellor with respect to the intercourse and interference of Mr. Shelley with the children, whatever that order and these directions might be.

It is not surprising that such a rule of perfection should have proved irresistible to the Master in Chancery. But Dr. and Mrs. Hume were evidently so conscious of the responsibility that they were prepared to undertake, or so very eager to obtain the guardianship of the children, that they carefully left no point in their education unconsidered. Their scheme embraced much that was calculated to turn out a couple of young prigs. It would be interesting to know what Shelley thought of this plan, if he ever saw it, for the education and upbringing of his children. Fortunately this worthy couple were

not given many years to apply to the children their system.

The children remained with Dr. Hume until they were removed from his care by an order of the Court of Chancery dated January 22, 1822, and placed in the custody of the Rev. James Williams and Elizabeth his wife, of Chelsfield, near Foots Cray, in Kent. Their nomination was made on the recommendation of the Westbrooks, whose solicitors, Messrs. Dease, Dendy & Morphett, wrote on January 2, 1822, to Mr. Whitton saying that Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Alderman Atkins had seats in Mr. Williams' neighbourhood, and were well acquainted with him. Sir Timothy approved of "the situation at Chelsfield for the Poor Little Innocents under so respectable recommendations as well as the sacred obligation Sir J. W. Lubbock and Mr. Richard Williams offer from the usage of the Court of Chancery."[1]

With the death of Shelley, his allowance for the maintenance of the children ceased. Mr. John A. Powell, the solicitor for Shelley's executors, furnished Mr. Whitton, on November 15, 1822, with copies of certificates to prove the poet's marriage with Harriet Westbrook in Scotland and London, and the birth of their son, and he added that he presumed the sum usually allowed for the children's maintenance and

[1] Sir Timothy Shelley to William Whitton, Feb. 3, 1822.

education had been stopped until the legitimacy of the son had been proved. Whitton wrote to Powell, on March 10, 1823, stating that Sir Timothy agreed to pay the next quarterly allowance, but that he declined to give any pledge or assurance that he would continue his payments for the children, as any such payment might be unnecessary if the legacies given to the children by their father should be raised for their benefit.

The difficulty of providing for the children was surmounted by an order of the Court of Chancery (dated July 21, 1823) appointing Sir Timothy Shelley guardian of his grandson Charles Bysshe Shelley, and Mr. Westbrook and his daughter, Mrs. Farthing Beauchamp (formerly Eliza Westbrook), guardians of Eliza Ianthe Shelley.

Sir Timothy put little Charles to school with the Rev. Alexander Greenlaw, D.C.L.,[1] of Zion House Academy, Brentford, where Shelley received his first schooling. Mr. Wnitton wrote from his office to Sir Timothy about the boy on August 8, 1823: "Charles is well engaged at a Mutton Chop in my front room. Mr. Williams [his custodian] brought him here this morning and I paid him £50 for his quarter and half quarter and for his

[1] In Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* he is described as "Rev. Alexander Greenlaw, son of John, of Elgin, co. Moray, Scot. Gent., St. Alban Hall. Matric. 8 July 1790, aged 25; B.A., 1796; M.A., 1801; B.C.L. and D.C.L., 1804; died at Blackheath, 1829."

Journey. I intend to take him home with me in the afternoon, and put him into the hands of Mrs. Whitton so that he may be properly clothed and all necessary articles be prepared for his going to school on Monday." Charles, however, was unwell and the Whittons detained him for a few days, when Mrs. Whitton took him to school herself and saw Dr. Greenlaw, who promised to give him his particular attention. When Whitton's daughter saw the boy some days later he told her that he was "happy." It is to be hoped that Charles had a better time at the school than his father, for he was a delicate child. There is a reference to him in a letter of Whitton's to Sir Timothy on October 27, 1823, in which he says that his wife had brought Charles to Stockwell on Saturday, that "he returned this morning," apparently to school, and he had a bad cold. Three years later, in June 1826, we read in Whitton's correspondence that the boy was lying ill at Field Place and was being looked after by his grandmother and aunts, and that a physician had been called in. As a matter of fact, the child was suffering from consumption. Whitton wrote to Peacock about the boy's health and enclosed a doctor's report; he does not mention the nature of his complaint, but its gravity was apparent, as he says he fears it puts a complete negative to Mrs. Shelley's hope of raising an annuity "upon her expectant interest in the Estates incumbered as they have

been." The condition of the boy grew rapidly worse: his grandfather, who was undoubtedly fond of him, wrote on September 11th from Field Place to Whitton: "Last evening the medical attendant doubted if poor little Charles could survive an hour, but not all night: with attention and care he still exists, it cannot be for long, nor does he suffer by pain, and the great consolation was, he talked of getting downstairs and be better. The next time I write in all human probability that he is called to another, and, I trust, a better world." On September 14th, Whitton wrote to Peacock to say that he had just received a letter from Sir Timothy with the news of "the death of poor dear little Charles without a struggle. Will you please to acquaint Mrs. Shelley of this event." Mr. Westbrook was also informed of the fact through his solicitor.

In the Register at Warnham, Sussex, is the following entry among the burials:

1826. Sep. 16. Charles Bysshe, son of late Percy Bysshe and Harriet Shelley age 11 years.

EVAN EDWARDS, *Vicar.*

From this it appears that the boy was buried by Mr. Edwards, who had taught his father the elements of Latin in 1798.

Mrs. Beauchamp proved a kind guardian to her niece Ianthe, who married, on September 27, 1837,

Mr. Edward Jeffries Esdaile, by whom she had two sons, Charles and William. The latter became a clergyman, and died in 1915; he recalled with gratitude in later years his early impressions of Mrs. Beauchamp and her kindness to his mother. He remembered her "as a handsome, grand old lady, with dark front of hair, piercing dark eyes, and with a kind manner to children, but of whom we were somewhat afraid. Her carriage, old-fashioned large chariot, spot dog, large horses, man-servant, lady-companion, formed a whole which made a deep impression on my childish memory." [1]

The name of Eliza Westbrook's husband was originally Farthing, and he was a clerk in a London bank, when an old lady named Beauchamp fell in love with him and left him all her property, on condition that he should change his name to Beauchamp.[2]

Mrs. Beauchamp subsequently inherited the property of her father, John Westbrook, who died in 1835 at Walford House, Mr. Beauchamp's residence. In his will (proved May 22, 1835, by Robert Farthing Beauchamp and John Squire, the surviving executors) he is described merely as of Chapel Street, Grosvenor Square, but in the Probate Act as formerly of Mount

[1] These reminiscences of the Rev. William Esdaile were given by Professor Dowden in his *Life of Shelley*, vol. i. p. 142.

[2] Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, vol. i. p. 142.

Coffee-house, Grosvenor Square, afterwards of Chapel Street, Grosvenor Square, but late of Walford House, near Taunton, in the County of Somerset. He bequeathed the whole of his residuary estate to his executors upon trust for his daughter and only surviving child Elizabeth for life, and then to her children. The personal estate was sworn under £60,000.[1]

Mrs. Ianthe Esdaile, as stated on an earlier page, died in June 1876.

For the sake of continuity we have followed the fortunes of Shelley's children by Harriet, but we will now return to his doings at the beginning of the year 1817. On February 14th he took a place, afterwards known as Albion House, in West Street, Great Marlow, from the preceding December 21st, on a lease for twenty-one years. The house, or houses, of which there were

[1] John Westbrook is described as of the Parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, vintner, in the Bond into which he entered on July 15, 1780, with the Bishop of London, for his marriage with Ann Elliott of the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, Spinster. In the allegation bearing the same date as above, Westbrook is described as a bachelor aged twenty-nine years, and Miss Elliott as twenty-three. The marriage was solemnized on July 20, 1780. The Mount Coffee-house where Westbrook made his money was at No. 78 Lower Grosvenor Street, a few doors from New Bond Street. The house, which still appears to be the old building, has been renumbered 80. It is now a private residence in the occupation of Dr. Cowper. Peter Cunningham tells us that there was a famous coffee-house in Mount Street known as *The Mount*, frequented by Laurence Sterne during the latter years of his life, while he was occupying lodgings at 41 Old Bond Street, where he died on March 18, 1768. Sterne addressed many of his letters from this coffee-house. The site of No. 23 Chapel Street is now occupied by part of No. 2 Aldford Street.

three adjoining each other, had lately been in the occupation of the governor and members of the Royal Military College, and was the property of Mr. Jeffrey Tylecote of Burton-on-Trent. Besides these three houses, with the gardens belonging to them, Shelley had also taken a lease of a meadow of four acres adjoining. The north side of this meadow was bounded by land in the occupation of Rachel Hamilton, on the south by West Street, and on the east by Oxford Lane. Shelley remained in the house for about a year, and transferred the lease, on February 14, 1818, to a Mr. William Carter of Hackney.[1]

Shelley and Mary spent much of their time during the first three weeks of February 1817 with the Hunts at Hampstead, and were introduced to their interesting circle of acquaintances and friends. Mary's diary tells of Leigh Hunt's musical evenings; it mentions Keats, who came in several times; and it records the occasion on which he brought John Hamilton Reynolds to tea, so that the three "Young Poets" whose work had formed the subject of Hunt's recent article in the *Examiner* met together in the flesh. Keats, who was inclined to suspect those of gentler blood than himself, did not take to Shelley, and

[1] This information is derived from the deed of release which is in the possession of the author. The premises are not referred to as Albion House in the deed.

Shelley did not like Reynolds. Hazlitt was also a visitor of the Hunts, but Shelley's manner and voice made a bad impression on the essayist.[1] It was not so, however, with Horace Smith, whose

> "Wit and sense,
> Virtue and human knowledge; all that might
> Make this dull world a business of delight,"

enabled him to thoroughly appreciate Shelley.

On Sunday, February 23rd, Shelley, Mary, William, and Clare went to Marlow. In the course of the following week they entered their new house, where Godwin paid them an early visit and stayed a night or two. Hunt then came down with his wife, and she prolonged her stay for a few weeks.

During the early days at Marlow, Mary busied herself with getting the house in order and with correcting

[1] Hazlitt in his essay "On Paradox and Commonplace," published in *Table Talk*, 1821, said: "The author of 'Prometheus Unbound' . . . has a fire in his eye, a fever in his blood, a maggot in his brain, a hectic flutter in his speech, which mark out the philosophic fanatic. He is sanguine-complexioned, and shrill-voiced." After Shelley's death, in reviewing the *Posthumous Poems* in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1824, he gave a not unpleasing picture of the poet. He said: "Mr. Shelley was a remarkable man. His person was a type and shadow of his genius. His complexion fair, golden, freckled, seemed transparent with an inward light, and his spirit within him—

> 'So divinely wrought,
> That you might almost say his body thought.'

He reminded those who saw him of some of Ovid's fables. His form, graceful and slender, drooped like a flower in the breeze. But he was crushed beneath the weight of thought which he aspired to bear, and was withered in the lightning-glare of a ruthless philosophy!"

the proofs of her novel, *Frankenstein*, the publication of which was offered to John Murray and to Ollier and refused by both of them. It was subsequently issued by Lackington, probably in January 1818. While the book was on offer to Lackington, Mary gave birth, on September 2nd, at Marlow, to a girl, who was named Clara Everina, after Clare Clairmont and her ~~great~~-aunt Everina Wollstonecraft.

Shelley's summer task was the composition of his poem *Laon and Cythna*,[1] a task to which he addressed himself, as he tells us in the preface, "with unremitting ardour and enthusiasm." The manuscript was completed by the end of September. The poem was dedicated to Mary in lines breathing love and fervour, lines in which he recalled the storm and stress of his youth and voiced his hope and fears of the future. The dedication concludes with these memorable lines:

> "If there must be no response to my cry—
> If men must rise and stamp with fury blind
> On his pure name who loves them,—thou and I,
> Sweet friend! can look from our tranquillity
> Like lamps into the world's tempestuous night,—
> Two tranquil stars, while clouds are passing by
> Which wrap them from the foundering seaman's sight,
> That burn from year to year with unextinguished light."

One rejected fragment of this dedication is preserved among the portions of the original manuscript at

[1] After a few copies were issued under this title, the poem underwent several alterations which were made by the insertion of cancelled leaves, and it was subsequently published as *The Revolt of Islam*.

Avington, Hants. Shelley has decorated it with a pretty drawing of trees, such as he sometimes sketched on the blank leaves of his manuscripts, but it possesses a stronger personal interest. The first portion of the holograph is apparently an early draft of stanza xiii, but the lines that follow, which form a part of stanza vi, contain some cancelled lines relating undoubtedly to Harriet Grove:

"She whom I found was dear but false to me,"

and to Harriet Shelley:

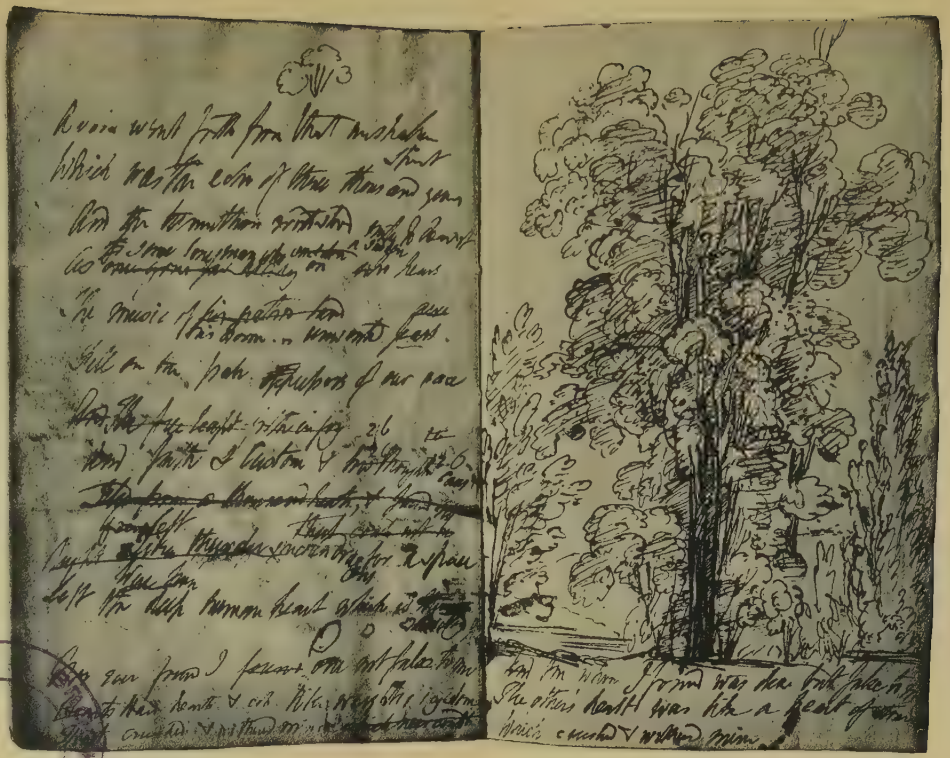
"The other's heart was like a heart of stone
Which crushed and withered mine."

"A voice went forth from that mis[s]hapen spirit
Which was the echo of three thousand years
And the tumultuous world stood mute to hear it
As some lone man who on a sudden hears
The music of his [fatherland][1] home—unwonted [awe] fears

Fell on the pale oppressors of our race
[And the free lept forth in joy]
And faith and custom and low-thoughted cares
[Fled from a thousand hearts and found no
[Of songs left that could not be]
[Aught] Like thunder-stricken dragons for a space
[Were torn] Left the deep human heart which is their . . .
dwelling place.

Nor ever found I [found] one not false to me
[Hearts] Hard hearts and cold like weights of icy stone
That crushed and withered mine [which ne'er could]
[and] She whom I found was dear but false to me
The other's heart was like a heart of stone
Which crushed and withered mine."

[1] The words between brackets are cancelled in the MS.



LAON AND CYTHNA (DEDICATION XIII).

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Marlow

The summer days seem to have slipped pleasantly away, although the Shelleys were not entirely free from worries. Besides Shelley's health, which had suffered and given Mary cause for anxiety, there were Clare Clairmont's affairs and Godwin's pecuniary difficulties. Clare, the source of many calumnies directed against Shelley, was a pretty brunette full of life, who, with a yearning for romance, was prepared for any adventure that would lift her out of the paralysing monotony of her existence with the Godwin household at Skinner Street. After her return from her first visit to the Continent with Shelley and Mary she had called on Byron, who was connected with Drury Lane Theatre, to ask him for an introduction to the stage. She did not become an actress, but she met Byron again when she visited Geneva with the Shelleys in 1816, and she had an intrigue with him there. It is doubtful whether the Shelleys were ignorant of this intrigue, but Clare remained with them when they came back to England, and in January 1817 she gave birth at Bath to a daughter, subsequently named Allegra. The Shelleys continued to look after Clare and the child at Marlow, but the position was a painful one for Mary, owing to the difficulty of accounting to the neighbours for Allegra's parentage. Byron, the reputed father of the child, refused to correspond with her mother, and it fell to Shelley's lot to write to him.

So far from disowning Allegra, Byron seems to have been interested in the welfare of the child, but he behaved in a thoroughly callous manner towards Clare. When Shelley, Mary, and their children left England for the last time in 1818, Clare and Allegra went with them.

Shelley, as we have seen, received a considerable sum of money from his father, but this sum was insufficient to discharge his debts. These are said to have been partly debts incurred in his name by Harriet, but they consisted undoubtedly to a far greater extent of certain obligations that he had undertaken, with want of forethought, on behalf of Godwin. Godwin was so hopelessly involved that any endeavour to extricate him from his debts was a hopeless task. It was as hopeless as attempting to rescue a man in the toils of an octopus by trying to hack off its tentacles with a penknife. Shelley's correspondence with Godwin continued to be concerned with money matters, but it is not proposed to follow it here. It is sufficient to say that Shelley's affairs were again involved. Among his creditors was Captain Pilfold, who had evidently failed to obtain payment of a debt due to him from his nephew, and who had applied to Sir Timothy Shelley for it. The nature of the obligation does not appear, but it may have been that the Captain

had gone surety for Shelley, who was unable to meet the debt. Whitton wrote to Captain Pilfold at Nelson Hall, near Cuckfield, Sussex, on March 12th, saying that Sir Timothy Shelley had found it necessary to refer to him regarding Mr. B. Shelley's concerns, and declined to interfere in them, and he informed him that Bysshe's solicitors were Messrs. Longdill & Butterfield of Gray's Inn. The next mention of this affair is to be found in Mary's letter of October 16th from Marlow to Shelley, who was at London, in which she writes: "You say nothing of the late arrest, and what may be the consequences, and may they not detain you? and may you not be detained many months, for Godwin must not be left unprovided? All these things make me run over the months, and know not where to put my finger and say—during this year your Italian journey may commence."[1] Professor Dowden's comment on this passage that "Mary Shelley's fears of an arrest were not realised," however, was not correct. It would appear that not only was Shelley arrested before October 16th, the date of her letter, but that Mary seems to have feared that he was in danger of being arrested again, and cautioned him of the danger of returning to Marlow. She wrote, on

[1] Shelley had gone to town on September 23rd to consult Mr. William Lawrence, a pupil of Abernethy, with regard to his health. The physician recommended change of air and scene, and Shelley was inclined towards spending the winter in Italy.

October 18th: "Mr. Wright has called here to-day, my dearest Shelley, and wished to see you. I can hardly have any doubt that his business is of the same nature as that which made him call last week. You will judge, but it appears to me that an arrest on Monday will follow your arrival on Sunday. My love, you ought not to come down. A long long week has passed, and when at length I am allowed to expect you, I am obliged to tell you not to come."

There is evidence of Shelley's arrest, at the instance of his uncle, Captain Pilfold, in Mr. Whitton's minute-book, where the following entry appears under the date of October 22nd: "Attended Mr. Longdill on the arrest of Mr. Bysshe Shelley to Captain Pilfold and another creditor and the necessity of him raising money and his hope that Sir Timy would prevent the necessity of his selling his reversion." On the same day Whitton gave some further particulars of the arrest in a letter to Sir Timothy, in which he said that he had received "a visit some weeks since from Mr. Longdill stating that a Mr. Gordon of Brighton had offered Mr. Shelley to purchase the Reversion of the farm in Shipley at £3000, that Mr. Shelley had debts to satisfy, and that unless he could borrow some money he must sell. I did not trouble you," Whitton continued, "with a communication in writing, but I told

Mr. Longdill that you would not buy and I believe would not lend. He has just called on me again and I find that he has been arrested for his debt and by a person who held a bill which he accepted for a friend and that his debts amount to about £1500, and as I suppose to a much larger amount for he and such like persons seldom estimate on more debts than what they are pressed for the payment of. I mention these circumstances because I am desired to do so, but I am far from thinking it right that I should recommend you to do anything for his relief, or to involve yourself with his debts. As he will sell soon should you now advance what he wants, I do not see that you can protect him against himself without involving your other inoffending children. I cannot but think he should be left to find his own means. If however you think otherwise and will let me know your wishes, I will endeavour to execute them. Your past exertions to support him and prevent a waste of his property must be your consolation. I understand that he was under arrest for two days by Mr. Pilfold, and that it has been most annoying to him as he says his character has suffered from it."

The date of Shelley's arrest is not mentioned. If he were arrested before October 16th, as Mary's letter would have us believe, it may have occurred between

September 30th, when he went to town, and October 10th, when he returned to Marlow. On October 11th he went to London, and he came to Marlow on the following day with Godwin, and left for town with him on October 16th.

During Shelley's residence at Great Marlow he issued two pamphlets under the pseudonym of "The Hermit of Marlow." The first of these brochures was *A Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote throughout the Kingdom.* Accepting the fact that the people were not properly represented by the House of Commons, he advocated, as a remedy, an extension of the franchise and the summoning of annual parliaments, and he suggested that a vote of the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland should be taken to ascertain if they desired such a reform. Towards the expenses of obtaining this plebiscite Shelley was willing to contribute a sum of one hundred pounds, or a tenth part of his annual income, and he believed that others also would be found to support the work. He did not advocate universal suffrage, as he considered that the public were unprepared for it through lack of education, but he thought that none save "those who register their names as paying certain sums in direct taxes ought to send members to Parliament."

The other Marlow pamphlet was entitled *An Address to the People on the Death of the Princess Charlotte.*

Here he contrasted the death of the Princess with the execution of Brandath, Turner, and Ludlam, three operatives who had been convicted of taking part in the so-called Derbyshire insurrection. On November 7th, the day after the Princess died, these wretched men were drawn on hurdles to the place of execution, where they were hanged and decapitated in public. The death of the Princess, as heir to the throne, was generally accepted as a national calamity, whereas Shelley pointed out the real calamity was the state of England that had caused these uneducated men to commit acts of violence which, though he deprecated them, had been expiated by a punishment barbarous in its severity. These pamphlets constituted Shelley's final public utterances on politics, and they probably both had a limited circulation, that of the last, it is said, being restricted to a private issue of twenty copies.

Early in October 1817 Shelley and Mary had determined to quit Marlow, and their chief cause for this decision was that his health had suffered during their tenancy: the house, so Mary complained, was very damp, and the books in the library were mildewed. It was necessary, however, to let the house before they could arrange to leave it, and this Shelley managed to do, according to Miss Clairmont's diary, on January 25, 1818.

He appears to have left Marlow for London on February 7th. Clare followed with William and Allegra on the 8th, and Mary departed with her baby on the following day.

Before he quitted Marlow Shelley raised a sum of £2000 from William Willatts of Fore Street, Cripplegate, to whom he undertook to pay, within three calendar months after the death of his father, Sir Timothy Shelley, a sum of £4500.

In connection with this transaction Shelley signed the following letter : [1]

P. B. Shelley to William Willats

To Mr. William Willats.

Sir,—You having lent me on security a sum of Money and Insured my Life the Policy of which Insurance will be void if I leave England without giving you notice so that you may increase your insurance if you think fit, I hereby promise you not to leave England without giving you sufficient previous Notice for that purpose.

I am, Sir,
Your Obed^{t}. Serv^{t}.,
Percy Bysshe Shelley.

London, *Jan.* 31, 1818.

Witness : Wm. Richardson, Clement's Inn.
George Adams, Fore Street.
Thos. Dignam, Clerk to Wm. Richardson, Clement's Inn.

[1] The signature and date only of this letter are in Shelley's handwriting.

Marlow

On arriving in London the Shelleys went to lodgings at Great Russell Street, Covent Garden, the street in which the Lambs were then living. Their days were fully occupied with leave-takings and with preparations for their visit to Italy. Although Shelley anticipated a lengthy sojourn abroad, he hardly realised that he was taking final leave of England. Mary wrote in her diary, on March 9th, "Christening the children," who were taken to St. Giles in the Fields, where the register records the baptisms, on that date, of William and Clara Everina, children of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Esq., and Mary Wollstonecraft his wife, of Great Marlow, co. Bucks. (late of Great Russell Street), the first born January 24, 1816, the second September 21, 1817; also Clara Allegra, reputed daughter of Rt. Hon. George Gordon, Lord Byron, Peer, of no fixed residence, travelling on the Continent, by Clara Mary Jane Clairmont, born January 17, 1817. The officiating clergyman was Charles Macarthy. Shelley's last days in London were spent in the society of his friends; he saw Hunt, Hogg, Peacock, Horace Smith, and Keats. Hogg, who dined with Shelley in London on Sunday, February 15th, probably saw him for the last time on that occasion. On the eve of the Shelleys' departure, March 10th, Mary Lamb called to say good-bye, and Peacock supped with them, after attending the first performance in England of Rossini's well-

known *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*; Godwin, Leigh Hunt, and his wife were probably also of the party. During the evening Shelley was overcome by one of his profound slumbers, and the Hunts, unwilling to arouse him, went away without bidding him farewell.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PARADISE OF EXILES

Shelley leaves England — Lyons — Allegra — Byron and Miss Clairmont—Shelley at Venice—Death of Clara—Rome—William Shelley's death—Leghorn—Shelley's *annus mirabilis*—Birth of Percy Florence Shelley—Miss Stacey—The Pisa circle—The arrival of Leigh Hunt—Shelley's death and burial—His heart—The reception of the news by Sir Timothy—Miss Hitchener's death—*Gentleman's Magazine* on Shelley—Byron and Mary—Sir Timothy's parsimony—Mary's departure from Italy.

SHELLEY and his travelling companions left London early on the morning of March 11th, and, spending the night at Dover, they crossed to Calais on the following day. Lyons was reached on Saturday, March 21st, where Shelley sent Byron a letter to inform him that Allegra had arrived thus far on her journey. Shelley wrote again to Byron from Milan in April inviting him to come and take charge of Allegra; Clare also wrote to him, consenting to surrender the child to its father. Clare agreed, notwithstanding the fact that Byron had stated he could only receive Allegra on the stipulation that her parting with the child should be final. Shelley in the meantime had heard some gossip about Byron's mode of life at Venice, and he endeavoured, but without avail,

to dissuade Clare from giving the child into its father's care. On April 28th Mary's Swiss maid, Elise, left Milan with Allegra for Venice, and remained there as her nurse. It was not until August that Shelley and Byron met again. Clare, who had received some letters about Allegra from Elise, longed to see the child, and persuaded Shelley to take her to Venice, in the hope that Byron would relent. Clare remained with some friends while Shelley went alone to call on Byron, who gave him a warm welcome, and, believing that Clare was at Padua, he consented that the child should visit her mother at that place for a week. Byron took Shelley in his gondola to the Lido, where horses were in waiting for them, and they rode along the sands talking. "Our conversation," wrote Shelley,[1] "consisted in histories of his wounded feelings, and questions as to my affairs, and great professions of friendship and regard for me. He said, that if he had been in England at the time of the Chancery affair, he would have moved heaven and earth to have prevented such a decision." This memorable ride on the Lido, "the bank of land which breaks the flow of Adria towards Venice," was afterwards immortalised by Shelley in his *Julian and Maddalo*. Byron, who had a high regard for Shelley as a man and a poet, offered him the use of his villa

[1] In his letter to Mary, August 23, 1818.

at I Cappuccini, near Este. Mrs. Shelley, in her notes to her husband's poem for 1818, has described this villa as " built on the site of a Capuchin convent, demolished when the French suppressed religious houses ; it was situated on the very overhanging brow of a low hill at the foot of a range of higher ones. The house was cheerful and pleasant ; a vine-trellised walk—a pergola, as it is called in Italian—led from the hall door to a summer-house at the end of the garden, which Shelley made his study, and in which he began the *Prometheus ;* and here also, as he mentions in a letter, he wrote *Julian and Maddalo.* A slight ravine, with a road in its depth, divided the garden from the hill, on which stood the ancient castle of Este, whose dark, massive walls gave forth an echo, and from whose ruined crevices owls and bats flitted forth at night, as the crescent moon sank behind the black and heavy battlements. We looked from the garden over the wide plain of Lombardy, bounded to the west by the fair Apennines, while to the east the horizon was lost in the misty distance. After the picturesque, but limited, view of mountain, ravine, and chestnut wood at the Baths of Lucca, there was something infinitely gratifying to the eye in the wide range of prospect commanded by our new abode."

To this place Mary set out on August 31st, but her

little girl, Clara, was taken ill on the journey, and when she arrived the child's condition was serious. On September 24th Shelley and Mary took Clara to Venice, but as soon as they reached that place she showed symptoms of increased weakness. A physician was summoned, but he could do nothing for the little patient, who expired shortly after, and was buried the following day on the Lido.

The Shelleys spent the winter in Naples, and in the spring of 1819 they visited Rome ; but they protracted their visit too long, and at the beginning of June they were still there. The climate which was responsible for Clara's death brought on a fever which also proved fatal to little William Shelley. He was only ill for a few days, but his case was hopeless from the first. While he lingered, his father watched by his bedside for sixty hours without closing his eyes. On Monday, June 7th, at noon, the day on which Shelley and Mary had arranged to leave Rome for Leghorn, the child died, and was laid in a nameless grave in the English burial-ground at Rome, near the Porta San Paolo. William Shelley's dust rests in the same earth that covers the mortal remains of Keats. Some months later Shelley gave instructions for a monument to be placed over the child's grave, and as he was not in Rome at the time to superintend the work, the stone was placed over the body of an adult. This

accident was afterwards discovered when it was desired to move the child's body and place it beside the father's ashes in the adjoining cemetery.

Shelley and Mary were anxious to escape from Rome, with its painful associations of the presence and loss of their only child. Their friends, the Gisbornes, were living at Leghorn, and in order to be near them the Shelleys took, for three months, the Villa Valsovano, a small house in the neighbourhood of the town. Here Shelley, in his little glazed-roof study, "Scythrop's Tower" (as he named it, after Peacock's "Nightmare Abbey"), at the top of the house, attempted, by means of literary work, to chase away his grief. There he wrote his tragedy *The Cenci*, a task which, he told Peacock, had occupied him for two months, and of which the first rough draft was finished on August 8th. He also completed the *Prometheus Unbound*, begun at Este, as far as the third act. The fourth act, which was an afterthought that occurred to him at Florence, was completed by the end of December. The year 1819 was Shelley's *annus mirabilis;* his literary activities at Leghorn included yet another achievement, namely, a poem in quite another strain, the delightful conversation piece of *Julian and Maddalo*. As Professor Dowden says: "To have created such poems as *Prometheus* and *The Cenci* in one year is an achievement without parallel

in English poetry since Shakespeare lived and wrote."

But the Villa Valsovano was a sad place without the children and with Mary's melancholy, which followed on the death of William. Her grief was alleviated by the birth of a boy on November 12th at Florence, where she, Shelley, and Clare had gone at the beginning of October. Shelley, in announcing this event to his friend Leigh Hunt, wrote on November 13th: "Yesterday morning Mary brought me a little boy. She suffered but two hours' pain, and is now so well that it seems a wonder that she stays in bed. The babe is also quite well, and has begun to suck. You may imagine that this is a great relief and a great comfort to me amongst all my misfortunes, past, present, and to come. . . . Poor Mary begins (for the first time) to look a little consoled; for we have spent, as you imagine, a miserable five months." The child, who was named Percy Florence, succeeded his grandfather, Sir Timothy Shelley, on his death in April 1844, as third baronet.

Shortly before Percy's birth, Miss Sophia Stacey, with Miss Jones, her travelling companion, arrived in Florence from Sussex. Mrs. Angeli informs us in her book, *Shelley and his Friends in Italy*, that Miss Stacey was the youngest daughter of Mr. Flint Stacey of Sittingbourne, and, on the death of her father, she

became a ward of Shelley's uncle, Mr. Robert Parker. During her residence with Mr. Parker at Bath she said she had naturally heard much of Shelley, and, as Mary told Mrs. Gisborne in a letter, Miss Stacey " was *enthousiasmée* to see him." Two days after her arrival she called at the Palazzo Marini, and learnt that Shelley, his wife, and Miss Clairmont were staying there. Miss Stacey kept a diary, from which Mrs. Angeli has given in her book a charming and unexpected sidelight on Shelley's life at Florence. Miss Stacey wrote some years later: " I shall never forget his personal appearance. His face was singularly engaging, with strongly marked intellectuality. His eyes were, however, the most striking portion of his face, blue and large and of a tenderness unsurpassed. In his manner there was an almost childish simplicity combined with much refinement." She tells us that Shelley kept a carriage but no horses, " being more humane to keep fellow-creatures." She was struck by the quiet life of the poet and his wife, who did not mix with their fellow-countrymen at Florence. Miss Stacey seemed to take pleasure in listening to his talk on the Established Church and Radicalism, on Love, Liberty, and Death. He spoke to her of his sisters, of his youthful adventures, discoursed on authors and music, and desired to be remembered to his uncle, Mr. Parker. She also noted his studious

habits and his devotion to books. "He is always reading, and at night has a little table with pen and ink, she [Mary] the same."

Shelley showed his baby, then two days old, to Miss Stacey, and remarked that, although it could do no mischief now, it might some day or other be the conqueror of provinces. And she then looked at a picture of William Shelley, and recognised the likeness to Lady Shelley, his grandmother. Miss Stacey delighted Shelley with her singing, and in return for the pleasure that he derived from it he gave her the verses "I arise from dreams of thee," and afterwards wrote in her pocket-book three songs—"Good-night," "Love's Philosophy," and "Time Long Past." The poet undoubtedly admired his young friend, and, after hearing her frequently play on the harp, he wrote for her his beautiful lines, "Thou art fair, and few are fairer." He assisted her and her friend in making their preparations for leaving Florence, and went with them to look at the carriage that they had engaged to take them to Rome, the step of which being high, he gallantly lifted Miss Stacey to the ground. When the day arrived for their departure, Shelley rose early in order to see them off on their journey.

Sir Timothy alluded to Miss Stacey's visit and to the birth of his grandson on January 18, 1820, in a letter from Bath to Mr. Whitton :

"Some ladies travelling in Italy write to Bath that they met P. B. at Florence with an addition to his family of a Son: and with Lord Byron to whom he offer'd to introduce the ladies: which they declin'd. It is not likely he will soon visit England with so many unwelcome guests to ask how he does by a gentle tap."

The statement that Byron was at Florence during Miss Stacey's visit was incorrect: he was, as a matter of fact, at Ravenna. Shelley had told Miss Stacey how much he should like his friend to hear her sing, and he wrote asking Byron to come, but he was prevented by illness from visiting Florence.

The unwelcome guests mentioned in Sir Timothy's letters were his son's creditors, one of whom had that day applied for the payment of a small amount. Other creditors learnt of Shelley's prolonged absence abroad, and they also wrote to his father, who seems to have been much annoyed by their applications, with which he invariably declined to deal. Sir Timothy was troubled with the gout, and tried to get relief from his malady by a visit to Bath, where he stayed several months, and where he seems to have purchased a house. He was concerning himself at this time with the education of his second son, John Shelley, who was now a youth of fourteen.

On January 26, 1820, the Shelleys left Florence, but before they departed their little boy, Percy Florence,

was baptized by the Rev. John Harding, Rector of Coity, Glamorganshire, according to the forms appointed by the United Church of England and Ireland for the ministration of private baptism of children in houses. A copy of the certificate of baptism was taken by Peacock, on August 15, 1822, to the Rector of St. James', Westminster, and entered in the register of that church of baptisms solemnised out of England. Sir Percy Shelley, in a letter dated January 11, 1844, wrote in regard to his christening: "Miss Clairmont was present at my baptism. Mr. Hogg knew me when I was two years old." Mary added, in the same letter: "Mr. Leigh Hunt saw Percy just at the time of his father's death in Italy."

From Florence, Shelley and Mary went to Pisa, and there, in that ancient city, with its silent streets full of memories of the past, they spent on the whole a period of two years' tranquil happiness, broken by short occasional visits to Lucca and the Bagni di Pisa. Clare had obtained a situation in Florence, and her absence was a relief to Mary, who was able to indulge to some extent in her love of society. This proved no attraction to Shelley, who would not tolerate mere acquaintances, and he was prompted to say of his wife: "She can't bear solitude, nor I society—the quick coupled to the dead." Much as Shelley disliked society, he was now the chief object of interest of a

CAPTAIN THOMAS MEDWIN

After a photograph in the possession of his only grandchild
Nobil Donna Zella Opezzo

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circle of sincere admirers, some of whom he himself regarded highly. In the summer of 1821 Edward Ellerker Williams and Jane Williams arrived at Pisa, and they soon became the intimate friends of Shelley and his wife. Williams had formerly been in the Navy, but having left that branch of the service, he obtained a commission in the 8th Dragoon Guards, and went to India. He returned to Europe with the lady to whom he was united, the Jane whose rare beauty moved Shelley to write some of his most inspired lyrics. Edward John Trelawny came to Pisa early in 1822, and was joined shortly after by Byron, and Thomas Medwin, Shelley's cousin and schoolfellow. Medwin was a bore, with literary aspirations, but he had an admiration for Shelley, who, though not usually long-suffering where bores were concerned, treated him with his accustomed kindness.[1] It was otherwise with Byron, whose companionship soon made Pisa intolerable to Shelley. The necessity of finding a more temperate situation for the summer months, and probably some desire to escape from Byron's society, led Shelley to take a house, the Casa Magni, situated on the seashore at Lerici, in the Bay of

[1] This period of Shelley's life has been very fully recorded by Trelawny in his excellent *Recollections*, *Records*, and in his *Letters*, edited by Mr. H. Buxton Forman; by Medwin in his *Life of Shelley*, which Mr. Forman has also recently re-edited; in Williams' interesting Diary, and in Mrs. Angeli's *Shelley and his Friends in Italy*.

Spezzia. Thither the Shelleys moved with the Williams's on April 26, 1822. It was a somewhat desolate place for Mary after Pisa, and she chafed at the solitude; but Shelley found it entirely to his liking. Early in the year Trelawny, with Captain Roberts, had superintended the building for Shelley at Genoa of the fatal boat, a small schooner, afterwards named the *Ariel*, which was duly brought round to Lerici.

Leigh Hunt arrived at Leghorn towards the end of June with his wife and family, after an interminable voyage from England. He came at the invitation of Lord Byron to found and edit a quarterly magazine, afterwards known as the *Liberal*. Shelley, who had been looking forward to meeting his friend, left Lerici on July 1st with Williams in the *Ariel*, and spent a week at Leghorn and Pisa, mostly in Hunt's company. His last verses, in which he welcomed Leigh Hunt to Italy, unfortunately have been lost.

The tragic story of the deaths of Shelley and Williams is familiar to everyone. On the afternoon of July 8th, a day of extreme heat, after taking a last farewell of Leigh Hunt, they set sail for Lerici, but they never reached their destination. A violent storm swept over the sea shortly after they were on their way, and the boat was obscured from the view of Captain Roberts, who, from the top of the lighthouse at Leghorn, was watching the vessel on her homeward track.

When the storm-cloud lifted, Roberts looked again, and observed every other vessel that he had seen in the *Ariel's* company, but she was no longer visible. After some days of agonising suspense, on July 18th, Shelley's body was cast up on the shore near Via Reggio; that of Williams had been recovered some three miles distant on the previous day. The bodies were buried temporarily on the shore near to where they had been discovered, and in order to effect their removal, they were disinterred some days later and cremated, according to the Tuscan law. On August 14th the remains of Williams were burnt, and on the day following the ceremony was repeated with Shelley's body by Trelawny, in the presence of Byron and Leigh Hunt. Shelley's cremation was described in detail both by Trelawny and Hunt. They related that, when the rest of his body had been reduced to ashes, his heart remained unconsumed, and it was snatched by Trelawny from the burning embers and given to Hunt, who afterwards resigned it to Mary Shelley.

After Mary's death Shelley's heart was found, wrapped in a silken shroud, between the leaves of her copy of the Pisa edition of *Adonais*, and the relic was afterwards enclosed in a silver case. When Sir Percy Shelley was buried, on December 10, 1889, in his mother's grave at St. Peter's, Bournemouth, the poet's

heart was interred with him. Many years previously Lady Shelley had told Mr. Walter Withall of Bedford Row (a friend of Sir Percy's), that she particularly wished him to see that the heart was placed in Sir Percy's coffin in the event of her predeceasing her husband. She also told him that the heart was kept in a cushion or pillow, which she always carried with her whenever she travelled.[1]

Two books were found in Shelley's pockets when his body was recovered: Keats's *Lamia*, of which only the binding remained, and this was thrown on the pyre; and a volume of Sophocles, now in the Bodleian. Trelawny afterwards placed Shelley's ashes in an oak casket, which was sent to Rome and interred in the English Cemetery in January 1823. In the spring of that year Trelawny visited Shelley's grave, and seeing that it was overcrowded, he moved the ashes to their present resting-place in the adjoining burial-ground.

The first intimation of the death of Shelley to reach England was contained in the following characteristic letter written by Leigh Hunt to his sister-in-law, Miss Elizabeth Kent, which arrived in London not later

[1] When Shelley House, Chelsea, was burgled, the thieves broke into Lady Shelley's boudoir and threw the cushion on the floor, and Lady Shelley remarked to Mr. Walter Withall that it was very fortunate it had not been taken. It was on this occasion that she gave him the above directions and showed him the pillow.

than the second or third day in August. The communication for Hunt's brother, John, for the *Examiner*, duly appeared in the next issue of that paper.

Leigh Hunt to Elizabeth Kent[1]

PISA, *20th July* 1822.

DEAREST BESSY,—Your sister is as well as she can be expected to be; so am I, and the children; all which I tell you at once, at the head of my letter, lest the frightful note I am compelled to strike up, should affect you still more than it must. Good God! how shall I say it? My beloved friend Shelley,—my dear, my divine friend, the best of friends and men—he is no more. I know not how to proceed from anguish; but you need not be under any alarm for me. Thank Heaven! the sorrows that I have gone through enable me to bear this; and we all endeavour to bear it as well as possible for each other's sakes, which is what he, the noble-minded being, would have wished. Would to God I could see him—his spirit—sitting this moment by the table. I think it would no more frighten me than the sight of my baby,—whom I kiss and wonder why he has not gone with him.

He was returning to Lerici by sea with his friend Captain Williams, who is said also to have been a most amiable man, and appeared so. It was on the 8th a storm arose; and it is supposed the boat must have foundered not far from home. The bodies were thrown up some days after. Dear S. had retained a book in his pocket, which he told me he would not part with till he saw me again,—Keats's last publication. He

[1] From Leigh Hunt's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 189.

borrowed it to read as he went. It will be buried with him : that is to say, it is so already, on the sea-shore ; but if he is taken up to be buried elsewhere, it shall go with him. Mr. Williams, too, left a wife, who was passionately fond of him. Conceive the terrible state in which the women are ;—but none of us I trust have known Shelley for nothing : the Williams doted on him ; and—I know what to say ; but rely upon me, I fear nothing. I am cooler in general than while writing this, and besides the patience to which I have been accustomed, I must work hard for our new publication, which will still go on. Lord B. is very kind.

Pray, show or send Hogg this letter for him to see ; and tell him I would have written him a separate one, but at present I am sure he will spare it me. I had already begun to enliven Shelley's hours with accounts of his pleasant sayings, and hoped to—but, good God ! how are one's most confident expectations cut short ! I embrace him as my friend and Shelley's.

Adieu, dearest Bessy, you will not wonder that I do not make this letter an answer to your last, which I was delighted to receive. It showed me you were well, and Henry out of danger.

Pray, send the following to my brother for the *Examiner*.

Your ever most affectionate friend,

LEIGH HUNT.

The news was soon abroad. Whitton knew of it on August 3rd ; Godwin heard of it a day later, and on August 6th he wrote to Mary : " I heard only two days ago the most afflicting intelligence to you, and in some measure to all of us, that can be imagined—

the death of Shelley on the 8th ultimo. I have had no direct information, the news only comes in a letter from Leigh Hunt to Miss Kent, and, therefore, were it not for the consideration of the writer, I should be authorised to disbelieve it. That you should be so overcome as not to be able to write is perhaps only too natural; but that Jane [Clare] could not write one line I could never have believed." [1]

It is noticeable that Godwin abstained from expressing any personal regret at Shelley's death. He had no word to say of the man who, in order to assist him, had impaired his fortune. Godwin, who did not understand his son-in-law, and set little value on his poetry, is said to have once remarked, on the evidence of Charles Clairmont, after seeing him in the street, "that Shelley was so beautiful, it is a pity he was so wicked"; and Mary wrote to Mrs Gisborne some years later: "Papa loves not the memory of Shelley, because he feels that he injured him."

Apparently the earliest public announcement of Shelley's death was Leigh Hunt's contribution to the *Examiner* (given below), which appeared on August 4, 1822, the thirtieth anniversary of the poet's birth. The notice was quoted on August 5th in the

[1] *Life and Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, by Mrs. Julian Marshall, vol. p. 6.

Morning Chronicle, and perhaps other newspapers also copied it.

"Those who know a great mind when they meet with it, and who have been delighted with the noble things in the works of Mr. Shelley, will be shocked to hear that he has been cut off in the prime of his life and genius. He perished at sea, in a storm, with his friend Captain Williams, of the Fusiliers, on the evening of the 8th ult., somewhere off Via Reggio, on the coast of Italy, between Leghorn and the Gulf of Spezzia. He had been to Pisa to do a kind action, and he was returning to his country abode at Lerici to do another. Such was the whole course of his life. Let those who have known such hearts and have lost them, judge of the grief of his friends. Both he and Captain Williams have left wives and children. Captain Williams was also in the prime of life and a most amiable man, beloved like his friend. The greatest thing we can say in honour of his memory (and we are sure he would think so), is, that he was worthy to live with his friend and to die with him.—Vale, dilectissime hominum! Vale dilectissime; et nos ama, ut dixisti, in sepulchro."

As stated before, Whitton knew of Shelley's death on August 3rd, for on that date he communicated the news to Sir Timothy, and he wrote again on the same subject on August 5th, having no doubt in the mean-

time seen the *Examiner* notice. The lawyer's letters are not forthcoming,[1] but Sir Timothy's reply which follows shows more anxiety for his younger son John's future career than for the loss of his elder son.

Sir Timothy Shelley to William Whitton

FIELD PLACE,
Aug. 6, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Sting of Death has its effects. God's will be done! Tho' we have it from the Public Papers only at present, such catastrophies are apt to be too true.

In regard to the enquiries you mention, I leave to you. John at present requires a steady young man as his Tutor, where, if He could be found to form a Friendship with Instruction, and masters for employment.

I was most perfectly satisfied with Mr. Warnford, but the Clergyman of the Parish form'd a Friendship for John and I fear has not been that Friend that could be wished, His prospects being held up to him that do not accord with my wishes. Could I beg of you to write to me that John might see the letter that this unforeseen event has chang'd the face of circumstances in my family, that he must think of something in order to better his condition in Life.

It is wonderful what artful men there are in the world, and those whom you may consider Friends confidentially are grounding the mischief of youth.

May I once more request to hear from you upon the above subject, it wd. be of Service at this period

[1] Mr. Whitton's letter-book for this period is missing.

of Time. Lady Shelley and my Family offer their best Compts.

Believe me, My dear Sir,
Yrs. most Faithfully,
T. SHELLEY.

I open'd the letter that I omitted to mention I had form'd the intention of sending John to a Gentleman at Sutton Coldfield, Nr. Birmingham, and was abt. to take him, He takes 4 only, but we see Private Tutors cannot keep youth in order where there are others. I must find some person if possible, whatever I do about this gentleman. He is highly spoken of by a friend of mine.

With Sir Timothy's next communication to Whitton (August 8th) he sent him two letters. One was from Shelley's friend T. L. Peacock, and the co-executor with Byron of the poet's will, giving Sir Timothy the first personal intimation of his son's death, to which he seems to have been quite prepared to resign himself, although he displayed some concern for his suit of mourning. The other letter was from Mr. Holste, who wrote on behalf of the representatives of the late Miss Hitchener. Sir Timothy concluded that Holste had written to him after having seen a public announcement of the poet's death.

Sir Timothy Shelley to W. Whitton

FIELD PLACE,
Aug. 8, 1822.

DEAR SIR,—I have given up my intention going to London at present, not having my mourning, and

the etiquette here not to appear in Public, except in case of necessity until we have been to Church : and under the peculiar circumstances the general acceptation of the world may be set at rest in regard to the Family.

I have therefore enclos'd you the letters. I have no knowledge of either of the Gentlemen.

I have not written even to Mr. Peacock. I mention'd before, if it seem'd right to give him a line to thank him for the communication being the only information, but thro' the Public Papers.

The other Gentleman must have seen the account, tho' he does not give any hint of it, but after so long a period writes to me.

This Miss Hitchener was a School Mistress and after Bysshe was married, went to see them. He knew her first at Cuckfield, when he was at Captn. Pilfold's before he married.

I have no doubt but you will find both the marriages correct. He was particular in that respect—I suppose there will require some arrangement when matters are understood.

To lose an eldest son in his life time and the unfortunate manner of his losing that life, is truely melancholy to think of, but as it has pleas'd the Great Author of our Being so to dispose of him I must make up my mind with resignation.

Believe me yrs. most truly and faithfully,

T. Shelley.

[Addressed]
Wm. Whitton, Esq.,
No. 3, King's Road,
Bedford Row, London.

T. L. Peacock to Sir Timothy Shelley

East India House,
Aug. 6, 1822.

Sir,—I am sorry to be the medium of conveying to you the afflicting intelligence which I have this day received in a letter from a friend of Mrs. Shelley in Italy, in which country your son has resided during the last four years. In that letter I am requested to communicate to you the melancholy tidings of his having perished at sea, in a storm, while proceeding along the coast in an open boat from Pisa to Lerici. He had not insured his life, and his widow and her infant son are left without any provision.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
T. L. Peacock.

To Sir Timothy Shelley.

H. Holste to Sir Timothy Shelley

London, *Aug.* 6, 1822.
22, Bush Lane.

Sir,—I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in addressing you respecting a Debt owing by your Son Mr. Percy B. Shelley to the Estate of the late Miss Hitchener of Edmonton. I am the Executor and have written to Mr. Shelley at Pisa, where I am informed he is at present residing, but have not received any answer.

The Debt amounts to £100, which Miss Hitchener lent him in June 1812 and which he has subsequently engaged to repay.

The documents relating thereto are in my possession, and also many letters from him and his family.

I make this humble appeal to you, on behalf of the Creditors and under the conviction that you would be so kind to settle this trifle, and should you wish to have the documents inspected by any one here in Town I shall with pleasure lay them before such a person as you may be pleased to appoint; and in the hope of a favorable reply,

I remain most respectfully,
Sir,
Your most obd. and humble Servt.,
H. HOLSTE.

To SIR TIMOTHY SHELLEY, Bart.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Horsham.

There is no mention of a loan from Miss Hitchener to Shelley in his correspondence with her during June 1812. In his letter, however, of June 11th, he asked Miss Hitchener if she had enough money for her journey to Wales, where she had decided to visit him and his wife, and if she had not, he said that he would remit some as soon as an amount of £50, then due to him, should arrive. One other reference to money, in Shelley's letters to Miss Hitchener at this time, is contained in his letter to her of June 18th. He contemplated taking a cottage, recommended by Godwin, at Chepstow, and he proposed to journey there with his wife and sister-in-law, Eliza, who was to remain at the cottage while Shelley and Harriet travelled across the country to Sussex, where they proposed to

pick up Miss Hitchener and to take her back with them. Shelley calculated that on arriving at Chepstow a sum of £13 would remain to him, with which he would defray the journey to Hurst. But for the expenses of their return to Chepstow—as Shelley said, "We shall be penniless"—he would depend upon Miss Hitchener's exertions with a certain Mr. Howell. The journey to Chepstow was not undertaken, but it is just possible that Miss Hitchener may have sent him the £100 to which Holste referred, although the amount may have been one year's instalment of the allowance mentioned below.

Miss Hitchener did not join the Shelleys until after July 14th, on which date she visited the Godwins on her journey through London to Lynmouth, where they had moved in the meantime. She left the Shelleys' household about November 8, 1812, and Harriet, in writing from Stratford-on-Avon to Catherine Nugent on November 14th, said: "It was a long time ere we could possibly get her [Miss Hitchener] away, till at last Percy said he would give her £100 per annum. And now, thank God, she has left us never more to return." Shelley wrote to Hogg on December 3, 1812: "The Brown Demon, as we call our late tormentor and schoolmistress, must receive her stipend . . . certainly she is embarrassed and poor. . . ."

After her departure from the Shelleys' Miss Hitchener returned to Sussex, where the "Newspaper Editor," who contributed his reminiscences of Shelley to *Fraser's Magazine*, "saw her at the house of her father, sitting alone with one of Shelley's works before her. Her fine black eye lighted up, her well-formed Roman countenance was full of animation, when I spoke of Shelley." Medwin spoke of her as "*an esprit fort, ceruleanly blue*," who "fancied herself a poetess. I only know of one anecdote," he said, "which Shelley used to relate, laughing till the tears ran down his cheeks. She perpetrated an ode, proving that she was a great stickler for the rights of her sex, the first line of which ran thus :

"'All, all are men—*women* and all!'"

Mr. T. J. Wise tells me that Mr. Henry James Slack gave him the following information concerning Miss Hitchener from his personal knowledge. He said that she subsequently became governess to the children of a gentleman who held some official position, probably in the diplomatic service, and she accompanied his family to the Continent. Before she left England, however, she deposited with Mr. Slack, Shelley's letters to her, together with transcripts of some of hers to Shelley, and that these papers were never reclaimed. While abroad Miss Hitchener made the acquaintance,

and afterwards married, an officer in the Austrian service, but she parted from him soon after, and, returning to England, assumed her maiden name. She then appears to have gone to Edmonton, where, with the aid of her sisters, she kept a school and earned the esteem of her pupils. She left no will, but from a search made at Somerset House it appears that on the 8th March 1822, Letters of Administration of the goods, chattels, and credits of Elizabeth Hitchener, late of Edmonton in the county of Middlesex, Spinster, deceased, were granted to Thomas Hitchener, her natural and lawful father. The estate was sworn at £450 ; the date of her death is not mentioned.

As some misstatements have been made with regard to Mr. Slack, it may be as well to say that he was at one time editor of the *Intellectual Observer*, the "Littlejohn" of the *Weekly Times*, author of *Marvels of Pond Life*, *The Philosophy of Progress*, and other books. He died June 16, 1896, and is described in his will as barrister-at-law.

Miss Hitchener's maiden name appears on the title-page of a poem in blank verse entitled *The Weald of Sussex*, which bears the date of 1822. Another volume from her pen, *The Fireside Bagatelle*, containing enigmas of the chief towns of England and Wales, had been previously published in 1818. If the correspondence of Shelley with Miss Hitchener, to which Mr. Holste

referred, was the same as that in Mr. Slack's hands, or which came into his keeping afterwards, the letters acknowledging the debt are not forthcoming. Some forty years later Mr. Slack showed the letters to Mr. W. M. Rossetti, who was the first to examine and transcribe them.[1]

Among the few contemporary statements of Shelley's death, the following appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1822. It was evidently written by someone better acquainted with the facts of the poet's death than with his work and aims.

"Percy Bysshe Shelley, Esq.

"*July 8th.*—Supposed to have perished at sea in a Storm somewhere off Via Reggio on the coast of Italy between Leghorn and the Gulf of Spezzia, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Esq.

"He went out a sailing in a little schooner in company with his friend Captain Williams son of Captain John

[1] Mr. D. F. MacCarthy, in his *Early Life of Shelley*, 1872, made considerable use of these letters, but they were first printed fully for private circulation in 1890 by Mr. T. J. Wise, and were published later, in 1908, by the late Mr. Bertram Dobell with an interesting introduction. The letters were afterwards included in the present writer's edition of Shelley's correspondence, 1909, after collation with the originals, which made it possible to restore some passages hitherto unprinted. On the death of Mr. Slack, the Shelley-Hitchener letters came into the hands of his widow, who bequeathed them to the Rev. Charles Hargrove, the husband of her niece, with the request that he should leave the letters to the British Museum. Mr. Hargrove did not keep the manuscripts long in his possession, but generously presented them to the Museum in 1907.

Williams of the Hon. East India Company Bengal Infantry and lately exchanged from the 8th Dragoons to the 21st Fusiliers. He had been to Pisa and was returning to his country abode at Lerici. The boat has since been found capsized. Mr. Shelley was the eldest son of Sir Timothy Shelley, Bart., M.A. of University College Oxford of which Society his son was for a short time a member. He married a daughter of Mr. Godwin by the celebrated Mary Wolstonecraft and was an intimate friend of Lord Byron and Mr. Leigh Hunt. The wives of Mr. Shelley and Mr. Williams were both at Leghorn overwhelmed with grief.

" Mr. Shelley is unfortunately too well known for his infamous novels and poems. He openly professed himself an Atheist. His works bear the following titles :—*Prometheus chained, Alastor or the spirit of Solitude,* and other poems 1816, *Queen Mab, Cenci.* It has been stated that Mr. Shelley had gone to Pisa to establish a periodical work with the assistance of Lord Byron and Mr. Leigh Hunt."

This reference to the memory of England's greatest lyrical poet is mild compared with what followed in this periodical, which claimed to represent the interests of gentlemen and to voice their views. Shortly after the appearance of the obituary notice quoted above, the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* seized an opportunity of assailing Shelley's memory in reviewing an Elegy on his death by John Chalk Claris, a great admirer of the poet, who wrote under the pen-name of " Arthur Brooke."

" Mr. Brooke, an enthusiastic young man who has written some good but licentious verses, has here got up a collection of stanzas for the ostensible purpose ' of commemorating the talents and virtues of that highly gifted individual Percy Bysshe Shelley ' (Preface).

" Concerning the talents of Mr. Shelley we know no more than that he published certain convulsive capers-ings of Pegasus labouring under cholic pains ; namely some purely fantastic verses in the hubble bubble toil and trouble style, and as to Mr. Shelley's virtues, if he belonged (as we understand he did) to a junta, whose writings tend to make our sons profligates, and our daughters strumpets, we ought as justly to regret the decease of the Devil (if that were possible) as of one of his coadjutors.

" Seriously speaking however we feel no pleasure in the untimely death of this Tyro of the Juan school, that pre-eminent academy of Infidels Blasphemers Seducers and Wantons. We had much rather have heard that he and the rest of the fraternity had been consigned to the Monastery of La Trappe for correction of their dangerous principles and expurgation of their corrupt minds.

" Percy Bysshe Shelley is a fitter subject for the penitentiary dying speech than a lauding elegy, for a muse of the rope rather than that of the cypress ; the muse that advises us ' warning to take by others' harm and we shall do well.' "

If these, and other abusive articles on the poet, were not responsible for Sir Timothy's unfriendliness to Mary Shelley and her little boy, they no doubt helped to embitter him.

But to return to Italy. About July 20th, immediately the fate of Shelley and Williams was known, Mary, Jane Williams, and Clare were taken by Trelawny to the Hunts' at Pisa, and there they remained during the early days of their mourning. Trelawny was unceasing in his efforts to help and comfort them, and Leigh Hunt and his wife also were ever ready with their sympathy and kind attentions. Shelley's widow and the Hunts having agreed to settle together at Genoa for several months, Mary set out from Pisa with Jane Williams for that place, towards the middle of September, in order to seek for a suitable house. She had promised at the same time to find a house for Byron, and she took for him the Casa Saluzzo at Albaro, near Genoa, and the Casa Negroto close by for the Hunts and herself. Clare had previously left Pisa for Vienna to join her brother Charles, and Mrs. Williams did not remain long at Genoa; she left for London on September 17th. Consequently Mary remained with her boy at the Hunts', intending also to return to England, but realised that, when she was able to do so, she could not reasonably be a burden on her father.

Mary cherished hopes that Sir Timothy would help her for the sake of her boy, but, as she wrote on September 17th to Mrs. Gisborne, "when my crowns are gone, if Sir Timothy refuses, I hope to be able

to support myself by my writings and mine own Shelley's MSS."

Byron, who at length arrived at Genoa, had been very kind to Mary at Pisa, where he had visited her from week to week. When she saw him again, for two hours, after an absence of a month, the sound of his voice awakened melancholy thoughts of days that were gone. It carried her memory back to the visit at Geneva in 1816, where, at the Villa Diodati, she had listened to long conversations between him and Shelley; and now, when she heard Byron speak, she listened, as it were, in expectation of hearing the other voice that was for ever silenced.

Byron's character was a strange mixture of generosity and meanness. He had behaved generously to Leigh Hunt in his capacity as Editor of the *Liberal*, as well as to John Hunt the printer of that ill-fated magazine, by making to it several notable contributions. It is true that he expected to obtain profit by the venture, but having given it his support, though he soon had misgivings as to its chances of success, he did not hesitate to carry out his promise liberally. Moreover, after a coolness with Murray, Byron entrusted to John Hunt the publication of *Don Juan* from Canto VI. to the end, and Hunt henceforth published anything that came from the pen of the poet, who found him "a sensible, plain, sturdy, en-

during person."[1] Byron sympathised with Mary; as the friend of Shelley, whose death he sincerely lamented, and as one of the executors of the poet's will, he was anxious to help her. He therefore wrote to his solicitor, John Hanson, saying that he had desired Godwin to see him with regard to Shelley's affairs, and that he wished Hanson to apply to Whitton on behalf of Mrs. Shelley to ascertain if any provision had been made for her and her son. Byron added that he presumed that the *last* quarter of the allowance, due on September 1st, would be paid, and he desired Hanson's opinion of Shelley's will, and his advice as to what had best be done in the circumstances. Hanson accordingly wrote to Whitton asking for an interview. Whitton, however, who, according to entries in his diary, replied to Hanson on November 22nd, and wrote again to him on the 27th, on December 17th declined to see him, and Hanson then made his application by letter as Whitton had requested. Mary wrote to Clare on December 20th at this stage of the negotiations, "This does not look like an absolute refusal, but Sir Timothy is so capricious that we cannot trust to appearances."[2] On December 18th Sir Timothy had a consultation about Hanson's letters and Harriet's children with Whitton, who gave his advice and re-

[1] Byron to Moore, April 2, 1823; Prothero, vol. vi. 183.

[2] *Life and Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, by Mrs. Julian Marshall, vol. ii. p. 55.

ceived Sir Timothy's instructions, which he communicated two days later to Hanson. The decision was apparently unfavourable to Mary's application, as Byron resolved to plead her cause himself, and addressed a letter to Sir Timothy Shelley. It was one of Byron's generous acts, and the letter is an interesting one for the tribute which it contains to his lost friend. The letter does not appear to have been printed before, and is from a copy among the Shelley-Whitton papers.

Lord Byron to Sir Timothy Shelley

GENOA,
Jan. 7, 1823.

SIR,—I trust that the only motive of this letter will be sufficient apology, even from a stranger—I had the honor of being the friend of the late Percy B. Shelley, and am still actuated by the same regard for his memory and the welfare of his family—to which I beg leave to add my respect for yourself and his connections. My Solicitor lately made an application to Mr. Whitton a gentleman in your confidence, in favor of Mr. Shelley's Widow and child by his second marriage both being left by his untimely death entirely destitute.

My intimacy with your late son and the circumstances to me unknown 'till after his decease—of my being named one of the Executors in a will which he left but which is of no avail at present—and may perhaps be always unavailable—seemed to justify this intrusion through a third person. I was unwilling to

trouble you personally, for the subject is very painful to my feelings and must be still more so to yours—I must now, however, respectfully submit to you, the totally destitute state of your daughter-in-law and her child, and I would venture to add—that neither are unworthy your protection. Their wishes are by no means extravagant, a simple provision to prevent them from absolute want now staring them in the face is all that they seek—and where can they look for it with propriety—or accept it without bitterness—except from yourself?

I am not sufficiently aware of Mr. Shelley's family affairs to know on what terms he stood with his family, nor if I were so should I presume to address you on that subject. But he is in his grave—he was your Son—and whatever his errors and opinions may have been—they were redeemed by many good and noble qualities.

Might I hope, Sir, that by casting an eye of kindness on his relict and her boy it would be a comfort to them—it would one day be a comfort to yourself, for if ever he had been so unfortunate as to offend you, they are innocent; but I will not urge the topic further and am far more willing to trust to your own feelings and judgment, than to any appeal which may be made to them by others.

Mrs. Shelley is for the present residing near Genoa—indeed she has not the means of taking a journey to England—nor of remaining where she is without some assistance. That this should be derived from other sources than your protection, would be humiliating to you and to her—but she has still hopes from your kindness—let me add from your Justice to her and to your Grandchild.

I beg leave to renew my apology for intruding upon you, which nothing but the necessity of so doing would have induced, and have the honor to be,

Your most obedient,

Very humble Servant,

NOEL BYRON.

To SIR T. SHELLEY, Bart.,
etc., etc.

Sir Timothy sent Byron's letter to Whitton, with an intimation that he thought of allowing Mary a sum of £160 a year.[1] Whitton considered this proposal, wrote several letters to his client, and, finally, had a consultation with Sir Timothy, on February 4th, after he had received from John Hanson certificates of the marriage of Shelley with Mary Godwin and of the baptism of their son Percy Florence. The result of this conference was that Whitton prepared for Sir Timothy a reply to Byron's letter, in the light of a short abstract of the poet's will supplied by Hanson on February 4th, which letter he carefully read over to the baronet on the following day. Mrs. Marshall printed Sir Timothy's reply in her *Life of Mary Shelley*, but the following is given from the draft among the Shelley-Whitton papers, which bears some alterations in Whitton's handwriting, though the two copies are practically identical.

[1] Whitton's diary, January 29, 1823.

Shelley in England

Sir Timothy Shelley to Lord Byron

FIELD PLACE,
Feb. 6, 1823.

MY LORD,—I have received your Lordship's letter, and my Solicitor Mr. Whitton has this day shewn to me copies of certificates of the marriage of Mrs. Shelley and of the baptism of her little boy and also a short Abstract of my son's Will as the same have been handed to him by Mr. Hanson.

The mind of my son was withdrawn from me and my immediate family by unworthy and interested individuals when he was about nineteen, and after a while he was led into a new Society and forsook his first associates. In this new Society he forgot every feeling of duty and respect to me and to Lady Shelley. Mrs. Shelley was, I have been told, the intimate friend of my son in the lifetime of his first wife and to the time of her death, and in no small degree as I suspect estranged my son's mind from his family and all his first duties in life. With that impression on my mind I cannot agree with your Lordship that tho' my son was most unfortunate that Mrs. Shelley is innocent—on the contrary I think that her conduct was the very reverse of what it ought to have been and I must therefore decline all interference in matters in which Mrs. Shelley is interested. As to the child I am inclined to afford the means of a suitable protection and care of him in this country: if he shall be placed with a person I shall approve.

But your Lordship will allow me to say that the means I *can* furnish will be limited as I have important duties to perform towards others which I cannot forget—I have thus plainly told your Lordship my de-

termination in the hope that I may be spared from all further correspondence on a subject so distressing to me and my family.

With respect to the Will and certificates I have no observations to make. I have left them with Mr. Whitton, and if anything is necessary to be done with them on my part he will I am sure do it.

I have the Honor, my Lord, to be your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

T. SHELLEY.

While Mary was waiting to hear the result of Byron's application to Sir Timothy she received a letter from her faithful and trusty friend Trelawny. He wrote: "There is not one now living has so tender a friendship for you as I have. I have the far greater claims on you, and I shall consider it as a breach of friendship should you employ any one else in services that I can execute.

> "'My purse, my person, my extremest means
> Lye all unlocked to your occasion.'

I hope you know my heart so well as to make all professions needless."

Mary was touched by this expression of friendship, which subsequently on Trelawny's part developed into something warmer, and she wrote in reply, on January 20th, that she believed he was the best friend she had, and that most truly would she rather apply to him than to anyone else. But she considered for the

present she was well off, having received £33 from the *Liberal*, besides still possessing a considerable residue of the money that she had brought from Pisa. She had enough to spare some for Clare. She added: "Lord Byron continues kind: he has made frequent offers of money. I do not want it as you see."

Mary was naturally indignant at the proposal of her father-in-law, whose letter plainly showed, she said, in writing to Byron, by what mean principles Sir Timothy would be actuated in not offering her little boy "an asylum in his own house, but a beggarly provision under the care of a stranger." She declared that, separated from the child, she should not survive ten days, though the sacrifice would be easy if it were necessary to die for his benefit. But the child was delicate, and required all his mother's love and solicitude, and she would never consent to part with him. Godwin, who saw a copy of Sir Timothy's letter, considered that there was no need for him to counsel her to reject her father-in-law's proposition. It was a bitter blow to her expectations, and she soon realised that, stranded as she was in a foreign country without resources, it was expedient that she should return to England with as little delay as possible. Mary made her preparations, and on June 9th she told Byron that she was ready to depart, and he promised to provide her with money and to make himself the necessary

arrangements for the journey ; but he kept her waiting, and then chose to transact the negotiations through Leigh Hunt. Mary related these details to Jane Williams in a letter dated July 1823, and said that Byron "gave such an air of unwillingness and sense of the obligation he conferred, as at last provoked Hunt to say that there was no obligation, since he owed me £1000." She added that while Byron was "still keeping up an appearance of amity with Hunt, he had written notes and letters so full of contempt against me and my lost Shelley that I could stand it no longer, and have refused to receive his still proffered aid for my journey." Mary, who was an inexperienced girl, not twenty-four when she was widowed, being unaccustomed to decide for herself, had outworn Byron's patience by the incertitude of her plans. Perhaps he was vexed when she showed some irritation at the failure of Byron's appeal to Sir Timothy ; at any rate he was out of humour with her, and he did not disguise it in the letter which follows.

Lord Byron to Leigh Hunt

June 28, 1823.

DEAR H.,—I have received a note from Mrs. S. with a fifth or sixth change of plan, viz. not to make her journey at all, at least through my assistance on account of what she is pleased to call "estrangement, etc." On this I have little to say. The readiest mode now may be this, which can be settled between

you and me without her knowing anything of the matter.

I will advance the money to you (I desired Mr. K[irkup][1] to say what would enable her to travel "*handsomely* and *conveniently* in all respects" these were the words of my note this afternoon to him) on Monday—you can then say that you have raised it as a loan on your own account—no matter with whom or how—and that *you* advance it to *her*—which may easily be made the fact if you feel scrupulous by giving me a scrap of paper as your note of hand—thus she will be spared any fancied humiliation. I am not aware of anything in the transaction which can render it obnoxious to yourself—at least I am sure that there is no such intention on my part—nor ever was in anything which had passed between us—although there are circumstances so plausible—and scoundrels so ready in every corner of the earth to give a colour of their own to everything—the last observation is dictated by what you told me to-day to my utter astonishment—it will however teach me to know my company better or not at all.

And now pray—do not apply or misapply directly or indirectly to *yourself* any of these observations.

I knew you long before Mr. S. knew either you or me—and you and two more of his friends are the only ones whom I can at all reflect upon as men whose acquaintance was honourable and agreeable. I have

[1] Seymour Kirkup was among those present at Shelley's funeral, on January 21, 1823, when his ashes were laid in the Protestant Cemetery at Rome. He was a friend of Trelawny, who described him as "an artist of superior taste," and he drew his portrait, which will be found in the *Recollections of Shelley and Byron*, 1858. Kirkup seems to have spent the best part of his life in Florence, where he was living in 1870, at the age of 82. See Trelawny's *Letters*, edited by Mr. H. Buxton Forman.

one more thing to state—which is that from this moment I must decline the office of acting as his executor in any respect, and also all further connection with his family in any of its branches—now or hereafter.

There was something about a legacy of two thousand pounds—which he had left me—this of course I decline and the more so that I hear—that his will is admitted valid: and I state this distinctly—that in case of anything happening to me—my heirs may be instructed not to claim it.

Yours ever and truly, N. B.

P.S.—I enclose you Mr. K.'s answer just received to my note of this afternoon.

On July 23rd, two days before Mary quitted Genoa for England, she wrote to Mrs. Williams that Lord Byron, Trelawny, and Pierino Gambo had sailed for Greece on July 17th. She did not see Byron before he left. "His unconquerable avarice," she said, "prevented his supplying me with money, and a remnant of shame caused him to avoid me. . . . If he were mean, Trelawny more than balanced the moral account. His whole conduct during his last stay here has impressed us all with an affectionate regard, and a perfect faith in the unalterable goodness of his heart. They sailed together; Lord Byron with £10,000, Trelawny with £50, and Lord Byron cowering before his eye for reasons you shall hear soon." Poor as Trelawny was, he willingly lent Mary a sum to help her to defray the expenses of her homeward journey.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

Mary's return to London—*Frankenstein* on the stage—Mary and Sir Timothy—Shelley's *Posthumous Poems*—Their suppression—Mary's allowance—John Shelley's marriage—Mary's negotiations with Sir Timothy—Her visit to Paris—Her illness—Percy Florence Shelley and his grandfather—False rumours of Mary's marriage—Trelawny's suit rejected—Mary's Wednesday evenings—Death of William Godwin the younger—Godwin's death—His will—Percy at Harrow—And at Cambridge—Shelley's collected Poems and Essays—Mary and her son on the Continent—Mary's death—Characteristics of Sir Percy Shelley—His death.

THERE was nothing now to detain Mary in Italy; indeed it was expedient that she should return to England and endeavour to obtain from Sir Timothy an allowance for herself and Percy. On August 25, 1823, she was in London under the roof of her father's house in the Strand, and on the 29th Godwin took her, with her step-brother William, and Mrs. Williams, to the English Opera House to witness a dramatic performance of her novel *Frankenstein*. Godwin had been prompted, by the appearance of this play, to get published for Mary's benefit a new edition[1] of her novel, as he

[1] *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*, by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley. In two volumes, a new edition. London: Printed for G. & W. B. Whittaker, Ave Maria Lane, 1823. The first edition of this book, in three volumes, was published without the author's name, but it contained a dedication to Godwin which was omitted from this reprint.

despaired of Sir Timothy doing anything for her. She wrote, however, to her father-in-law and Lady Shelley on her arrival in England, and Sir Timothy sent the letter to Whitton. The lawyer advised, in a letter dated September 1st, that Sir Timothy should reply by referring Mary to his letter to Byron as containing his explanation of all that he intended to do, and that his feelings would not permit him to correspond further on the subject. Whitton thought that such a letter would quiet his client and induce Mary to desist from further troubling him or Lady Shelley. Sir Timothy, however, did not fall in with Whitton's suggestion that he should answer Mary's letter, and Whitton therefore wrote to her on September 3rd. He told her that she was acquainted with Sir Timothy's general sentiments, and that he did "not think it proper to vary or alter that determination which he has already stated." Whitton also informed Mary that, when she had placed her son in that situation which she considered desirable for him, if she would send him particulars he would inquire of Sir Timothy what proportion he would be prepared to pay of the expenses. As Whitton was leaving town, he said that he would see Mrs. Shelley that day.

Mary accordingly, accompanied by her father and her little boy, called on Whitton, and, describing the interview in a letter to Hunt, she said that the lawyer

" was very polite though long-winded ; his great wish seemed to be to prevent me from applying again to Sir Timothy, whom he represented as old, infirm and irritable. However, he advanced me £100 for my immediate expenses, told me that he could not speak positively until he had seen Sir T. Shelley, but he doubted not that I should receive the same sum annually for my child, and with a little time and patience I should get an allowance for myself." Whitton wrote a long letter to Sir Timothy, in which he gave an account of the conversation that he had had with Mary and her father, and he stated that he made the advance to her as he realised that, as she was wholly without money, and her father not being in a position to assist her, without some present aid she could not keep herself without great distress; that he thought Sir Timothy might allow a sum not very short of £100 a year for the child, but that she was not to look forward to support from that quarter. Mary seems to have construed Whitton's remarks otherwise ; she expected that her father-in-law would make her an adequate provision. Peacock saw Whitton on November 6th, and stated that Mrs. Shelley had written to him saying that she expected an allowance of £300 a year, to which statement Whitton declared that it was Sir Timothy's intention not to allow her sixpence beyond what was necessary for her child.

It was, however, arranged by Whitton, in an interview with Peacock some three weeks later, that Mary should receive an allowance of £100 a year from September 1st preceding. But Mary, remembering her conversation with Whitton, still hoped that this allowance would be augmented, and after some months of suspense she must have written to him on the subject, in June 1824, as the lawyer replied to her on the 14th of that month that it concerned him very much that even his most guarded expressions should have produced a feeling of expectation on her part. He pointed out to her that, as under her late husband's will she had an important expectant interest in part of the settled estates, she thus possessed a resource beyond and independently of the allowance made by Sir Timothy for Percy's maintenance. He thought it right to refer her to the consideration of that subject, as she might thereby provide for herself all that she now required. Peacock called on Whitton to ask for an explanation of that part of his letter to Mrs. Shelley which referred her to her own means for obtaining a support. Whitton gave him no encouragement to expect that Sir Timothy would take a grant from Mary of a part of her expectant right in consideration of an annuity, but the lawyer agreed to ascertain, in the circumstances, the value of an annuity of £300 per annum during the joint lives. Mary Shelley

was led by this inquiry to conclude that some satisfactory arrangement would result, as she wrote to Trelawny on July 28th : " My prospects are somewhat brighter than they were. I have little doubt but that in the course of a few months I shall have an independent income of £300 to £400 per annum during Sir Timothy's life, and that with small sacrifice on my part. After his death Shelley's will secures me an income more than sufficient for my simple habits."

Soon after Shelley's death, when Mary was at Albaro, she applied herself to the task of going over his manuscripts and transcribing them preparatory to issuing a collection of his unpublished poems. When she was nearing the completion of her task, she must have experienced a difficulty in finding a publisher willing to undertake to print the book at his own risk. The Olliers, who had issued Shelley's poems at the author's charges, had stated that " the sale, in every instance, of Mr. Shelley's works has been very confined." The original editions of his works were, at the time, a drug in the market, and the London publishers showed no eagerness to publish his *Posthumous Poems*. A plan at length was found to induce John Hunt to issue the book. The sale of 250 copies was guaranteed by three admirers of Shelley's poetry—namely, Thomas Lovell Beddoes ; Bryan Waller Procter, otherwise " Barry

Cornwall"; and Thomas Forbes Kelsall—none of whom appear to have known the poet personally. The publisher decided to print 500 copies of the volume, as he said that a smaller number would not pay for printing and advertisements, much less yield any profit for Mrs. Shelley. A portrait was to have been added as a frontispiece to the book, but Mrs. Williams had mislaid a sketch of the poet, which Mary Shelley had lent her, until it was too late to use it.[1] It was originally intended to include in the volume a selection from Shelley's prose writings, including some letters from Italy, besides his translation of the Symposium and Ion of Plato, but Mary stated in her preface to the book (dated June 1, 1824) that the size of the collection had prevented the insertion of any prose pieces, which would appear in a separate publication.[2]

[1] See the *Poems of T. L. Beddoes*, 1851, edited by T. F. Kelsall, Memoir, vol. i. p. xxiii.; also *The Letters of T. L. Beddoes*, 1894, edited by Edmund Gosse, p. 1 *et seq.*, p. 264.

[2] In an advertisement, dated December 1823, and printed at the end of *Don Juan*, Cantos XII–XIV, 1823, of John Hunt's publications, among "works preparing for publication" is the announcement:

"In one vol. 8vo. The Posthumous Works of the late Percy B. Shelley, Esq. Containing: The Witch of Atlas; Julian and Maddalo; Triumph of Life; Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude. Translations:—The Cyclop, a Silenic Drama from Eurypides [*sic*]; Homer's Hymn to Mercury; The Symposium and Ion of Plato, &c. Letters from Italy; and smaller poems." In the next volume of *Don Juan*, Canto XV–XVI, 1824, the advertisement, dated March 1824, again appears among works in preparation, but "Letters from Italy" and "The Symposium" are omitted, and "From the Faust of Goëthe" [*sic*] is added.

The book on the whole was received favourably by the reviewers, who were forced, though sometimes unwillingly, to admit that it contained proofs of Shelley's unmatched gift of song. The *Quarterly*, Hazlitt in the *Edinburgh*, and "Christopher North" in *Blackwood*, were agreed in praising the book, but the writer of a long review which appeared in the number for August 1823 of that little known, but very interesting, publication, *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, showed that he was well acquainted with Shelley's poetry, from *Queen Mab* to *Adonais*, and had followed the criticisms which had been meted out to it in the past. He said :

"Amidst the crowd of feeble and tawdry writers with which we are surrounded, tantalizing us with a mere shew of power, and rendering their native baldness more disgusting by the exaggerations and distortions with which they attempt to hide it, it is refreshing to meet with a work upon which the genuine mark of intellectual greatness is stamped. Here are no misgivings, no chilling doubts, no reasoning with ourselves as to the grounds of our temporary admiration ; no comparison of canons, no reference to criterions of beauty. We feel ourselves raised above criticism, to that of which criticism is only the shadow ; we perceive that it is from sources like these that her rules, even where true, are exclusively derived, servants that know not their master's will,—and we feel that we have no need of them, when all that they

could teach presents itself to us by intuition. It is a reviving feeling—a sense of deliverance and of exaltation ; we are emancipated from the minute and narrowing restraints to which an habitual intercourse with petty prejudices almost insensibly subjects us ; we breathe freely in the open air of enlarged thought ; and we deem ourselves ennobled by our relation to a superior mind, and by the sense of our own capabilities which its grand conceptions awaken in us."

The writer then went on to examine the charges that had been made against Shelley and his poetry. "We are a review-and-newspaper-ridden people," he said, "and, while we contend clamorously for the right of thinking for ourselves, we yet guide ourselves unconsciously by the opinion of censors whom we know to be partial and incompetent." The feeling against Shelley was not merely because he had erred, but because his errors were unpopular and he had never attempted to disguise his opinions or to mask them "under a decent guise of conformity." The article concludes with several pages of extracts from the poems, and is followed by a lively dialogue between the contributors, at the anniversary gathering of the magazine, on the merits of Shelley's poetry, on Mrs. Shelley's *Frankenstein*, and her then recently published novel *Valperga*. The author of the article disguised his identity under the pseudonym of "Edward Haselfoot," but the magazine counted among its

contributors Macaulay, Praed, and Moultrie, and it may have been written by one of the two last named.

The volume of Shelley's *Posthumous Poems* had not been long in circulation before Sir Timothy wrote to Whitton about it. He had attempted during his son's lifetime to restrain him from publishing his works and had failed, but, now that Mary Shelley was dependent on him for supplies, it was an easy matter to threaten to stop her allowance unless she at once withdrew the circulation of her husband's poems. Whitton wrote to Sir Timothy, on July 24, 1824, that he had seen Mr. Peacock, and that he had had a very long and particular conversation with him on the subject of "the publications." Peacock remarked that he was ignorant of Mary's intention to publish, and that had he known it he would have used his endeavours to prevent it. He had heard that she, or, rather, her father, was about to publish some prose writings (apparently of Shelley's), and Whitton, who intimated to him that such conduct had been very offensive to Sir Timothy's feelings, conceived that the baronet would regard "any further publication of the writings as intended to annoy" him and his family. Whereupon Peacock said that he would endeavour to prevent it, and a few days later he again saw Whitton, who wrote to Sir Timothy on August 5th as follows :

Conclusion

W. Whitton to Sir Timothy Shelley

3 King's Road,
Augt. 5, 1824.

Dear Sir Timothy,—The day after I had the pleasure of seeing you I saw Mr. Peacock, and I communicated with him very fully as to the publication of the Poetry and the proposed publication of the prose parts of Mr. Shelley's writings, and having pointed out to him how much such Publications pressed on the feelings of yourself and your family, he expressed to me his great regret that the publication had ever taken place, and that having seen Mrs. Shelley she had authorised him to take any course he might think proper to get in the copies of the Book then under publication and his only difficulty was the expense which had been incurred in the publication; and I therefore proposed to him that I would make payment of the amount supposing the same did not exceed £100. Mr. Peacock intimated to me that the bargain for the publication had been that Mrs. Shelley was to receive any profits that should arise beyond the expenses of publication, and I had reason to understand that 700 of the Books had been printed. This morning Mr. Peacock again called on me and stated that in consequence of what had previously passed the Advertizements had ceased, that 500 only of the Books had been printed, of which about 300 had been sold, the price for which had cleared the expenses and advertisements, that about 30 were in the hands of Booksellers at Edinburgh and Dublin which he would immediately cause to be recalled, and the remaining 170 he proposed to send to me; there are about 7 in the hands of Booksellers in different parts of the Town

which we thought it would not be prudent to apply for. Upon consideration I deemed it would be more expedient, and I therefore stipulated with Mr. Peacock that the 170 Volumes and the manuscript of the Work as well as the Manuscript of the prose writings should be placed in his hands as a more perfect means of satisfaction to you and your family, and this he promised me should be immediately done. I was the more desirous that Mr. Peacock should be charged with the care of the printed Books and the two Manuscripts rather than the Books should be sent to me and the manuscripts left in the hands of indifferent persons. In this way I hope a continuance of annoyance to you will be avoided. The check you sent me dated the 17 of June, 1824, for £50 I did not use in the way you pointed out for the benefit of Mrs. Shelley, and I now return it to you cancelled. Mr. Peacock stated to me that Mrs. Shelley had misapprehended the arrangements as to the payments to her, that she was greatly inconvenienced for the want of money. I therefore paid her £50 for the 1st of Sept. by anticipation. When you have reflected on the circumstances now communicated and considered the subject with Lady Shelley and your family you will be pleased to let me know what you intend doing. I mentioned to Mr. Peacock about the Education of the little Boy, and he expressed his great readiness to assist in inducing Mrs. Shelley to do what may be right in the occasion, he agreeing with me that a Godwin education must be altogether avoided.

Yours Dr. Sir Timothy,
Very faithfully,
William Whitton.

Conclusion

Mrs. Shelley must have parted reluctantly with Shelley's original manuscripts, but it was expedient to comply with Sir Timothy's demands, and the papers only passed into the custody of her friend Peacock. Of what exactly the manuscripts comprised does not appear from Peacock's letter that follows. The translations from Plato remained unprinted till the year 1840, when they appeared in Mary Shelley's collection of Shelley's *Essays and Letters from Abroad.*

T. L. Peacock to W. Whitton

Aug. 18, 1824.

My dear Sir,—I have received from Mrs. Shelley the *original* MSS. which were to have composed the prose volume.

There are two *translations* from Plato which she cannot immediately procure from a person to whom she had lent them, and who (if I recollect rightly, having mislaid her note) is out of town.

She assures me that they shall not be printed, and that they shall be sent to me as soon as she can obtain them. I have also received the whole remaining impression of the Posthumous Poems, 190 copies.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

T. L. Peacock.

India House,
Augt. 18, 1824.

Mary Shelley no doubt consented thus readily to the suppression of the *Posthumous Poems* as the question

was then pending whether Sir Timothy would advance her a sum of money on her expectant interest under her husband's will. She wrote accordingly to Leigh Hunt on August 22nd :

"A negotiation has begun between Sir Timothy Shelley and myself, by which, on sacrificing a small part of my future expectations on the will, I shall ensure myself a sufficiency for the present. . . . I have been obliged, however, as an indispensable preliminary, to suppress the Posthumous Poems.[1] More than 300 copies had been sold, so this is the less pro-

[1] The following is the account of the publishers, John and Henry Hunt, for Shelley's *Posthumous Poems:*

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
To Printing 500 copies .	90	11	6
,, 26¾ Reams of Paper @ 30/6 . . .	40	15	10½
,, Entering at Stationers' Hall . . .	0	3	0
,, Advertisements . .	24	13	9
,, 11 copies to Stationers' Hall @ 10/6 . .	5	15	6
,, 41 copies to Mrs. Shelley @ 10/6 .	21	10	6
,, 10 copies to The Press @ 10/6 .	5	5	0
,, 160 copies to Sir T. Shelley (in sheets) @ 10/6 . . .	80	0	0
,, 31 copies to Sir T. Shelley (in boards) @ 10/6 . . .	16	5	6
,, Recalling from Country Agents . . .	1	6	2
,, Mrs. Shelley on account . . .	15	0	0
,, Publishing . .	36	0	0
	£337	6	9½

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
By 500 copies Sheets (as 480 @ 10/–) . .	240	0	0
Balance carried forward .	97	6	9½
	£337	6	9½

To Balance brought forward, £97, 6*s.* 9½*d.*

voking, and I have been obliged to promise not to bring dear Shelley's name before the public again during Sir Timothy's life. There is no great harm in this, since he is above seventy ;[1] and, from choice, I should not think of writing memoirs now, and the materials for a volume of more works are so scant that I doubted before whether I could publish it. Such is the folly of the world, and so do things seem different from what they are ; since from Whitton's account, Sir Timothy writhes under the fame of his incomparable son, as if it were the most grievous injury done to him ; and so, perhaps, after all it will prove. All this was pending when I wrote last, but until I was certain I did not think it worth while to mention it. The affair is arranged by Peacock, who, though I seldom see him, seems anxious to do me all these kind of services in the best manner that he can."

Peacock was certainly vigilant, and he saw Whitton on November 27th in regard to a letter that he had received from Mary respecting her situation and want of means. Whitton gave his advice as to her ability to purchase an annuity for her life, and he promised to furnish her with the necessary evidence if Sir Timothy declined to take part in the transaction.[2] Both Mrs. Shelley and Peacock saw Whitton several times on the subject, and, as Sir Timothy finally declined to take part in her proposed annuity, the lawyer suggested that Peacock should lay the proposal before

[1] Sir Timothy Shelley lived to the age of ninety-one.
[2] From Whitton's Diary, November 27, 1824.

some insurance company. Peacock acted on this counsel, but the negotiation proved abortive.

Mary wrote to her friend, Miss Curran, on January 2, 1825, with regard to her affairs: "I have now better prospects than I had, or rather, a better reality, for my prospects are sufficiently misty. I receive now £200 from my Father-in-law, but this in so strange and embarrassed a manner that, as yet, I hardly know what to make of it. I do not believe, however, that he would object to my going abroad, as I daresay he considers that the first step towards kingdom come, whither, doubtless, he prays that an interloper like me may speedily be removed." [1]

The prospect of remaining in London was daily growing more distasteful to her. On April 8th she wrote to Leigh Hunt: "I shall not live with my father but return to Italy and economise the moment God and Mr. Whitton will permit."

Any doubts, however, that Mary may have entertained respecting her income were soon to be dispelled by an unfortunate incident.

Mary had written a novel, during the last years of Shelley's life, of which he entertained a high opinion,

[1] Whitton noted in his Diary on December 26, 1824: "Writing letter to Mrs. Shelley. Gave her cheque for £50." It is not clear whether Sir Timothy had actually entered into an arrangement with Mary to allow her £200 a year, or whether she took this sum to represent a quarterly instalment of a regular allowance.

and he attempted to find a publisher for it. The book, with the title *Valperga ; or, The Life and Adventures of Castruccio, Prince of Lucca,* was issued during the summer of 1823, shortly before Mary left Italy. The publisher paid her for the manuscript a sum of £400, which she generously gave to her father, who had put the book into shape for publication. It was now imperative that Mary should again employ her pen to eke out her meagre income, and she wrote another novel, *The Last Man,* which was published early in the year 1826. This book, like its predecessor, did not bear Mary's name on the title-page, but was described as " by the author of *Frankenstein.*" When Sir Timothy induced Mary to suppress the *Posthumous Poems,* under the threat of stopping supplies if she refused, she hoped that, in recognition of her compliance with his wishes, he would have considered the question of raising money for her benefit. But it was his desire that Shelley's memory might be forgotten, and he made it a condition of continuing the allowance to Mary of £100 per annum that she should not bring her husband's name again before the public. Mary Shelley was pretty widely known to be the author of *Frankenstein,* although originally published anonymously, as her father, in bringing out the new edition of that romance, had put her name on the title-page. The reviewers, therefore, of *The Last Man* freely referred

to her by name, and this publicity so annoyed Sir Timothy, that he showed his displeasure by suspending her allowance, although Mary was in no wise blameworthy.

Whitton, in sending Peacock a sum of £50 for Mary on July 5, 1826, said that it must be considered the last payment. He added, in the same letter, that Shelley's eldest son by Harriet, Charles Bysshe, was in consumption. Six days later he wrote again to Peacock, and sent him, for Mrs. Shelley's information, the doctor's report on the boy's case, and said: "I regret very much the situation of the little fellow; he has the affectionate attention of Sir Timothy and Lady Shelley and of the young ladies at Field Place. This disaster puts, I fear, a complete negative to the raising by Mrs. Shelley of an annuity upon her expectant interest in the Estates incumbered as they have been."

About the middle of September 1826 little Charles Shelley died, and Mary's son, Percy Florence, became heir-presumptive to the baronetcy. It is pretty clear that there was little love lost between Sir Timothy and Mary Shelley, and he was probably prepared to think of his grandson Percy as an interloper, especially as the boy stood between Sir Timothy's second son John and the baronetcy. John Shelley, although only twenty, was already engaged to be married, and his

JOHN SHELLEY.

From a photograph in the possession of Sir John Shelley, Bart.

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father, in sending Whitton, on October 15th, a certificate of Charles's burial, wrote with regard to the young man's settlement in life : " You mention'd that you should be enabled during the Vacation to put into writing the several interests of the State of the Family concerns and of the interest, etc., of my son respecting his nuptials. It will be very gratifying to me so to arrange matters that I may see my way to do right, and set him out as circumstances admit. My son will be of age the middle of March next, and young folks do not feel easy apart when all agree upon the point, and at my time of Life my only wish is to make those happy I feel so much interest for, and no delay will be on my part and I am sure not on yours in laying before him in due time his expectations."

John Shelley was married on March 24, 1827, to Eliza, daughter of Charles Bowen of Kilna Court, Queen's County. Some two years later he appears to have done something to upset his father, in whose affections, however, he seems to have had a place that was denied to or forfeited by Bysshe. The exact nature of the trouble is not disclosed, but money was involved. Sir Timothy, in writing to Whitton on August 18, 1829, said : " I wish he had always been as cautious in his dealings and I hope he may be so in future as he is with me : I the rather encouraged it that he may have an example for the future. Would

not any little memorandum suffice to quiet his fears? I wish once to arrange with him, then he must take care of himself and give me no further trouble. . . . As John mentioned £800 I told him £1000 would be better and the other £500 would be ready giving me some notice. He told me you advis'd him not to be hasty in replacing the £500. We were all young once." He referred to the same subject again on September 4th: "This young man, my son, came to his senses of his own accord, I wish he may always see his way right and see his interest with those who wish him well, amongst whom his Father, and the gentleman who only knows and understands the concerns in which he may have to transact business with. Nothing but the lack of money can make youngsters understand the right use of it." [1]

Peacock's good offices were again requisitioned by Mary to explain to Whitton that her name had not appeared on the title-pages of her books, and that for the publicity that had been given to her she was in no way responsible. Whitton, who acknowledged the truth of these circumstances, said, "The name was the matter; it annoyed Sir Timothy." Although the

[1] John Shelley died on Nov. 11, 1866. His son Edward, born 1827, who became 4th Baronet in 1889 on the death of Sir Percy Florence Shelley, was succeeded as 5th Baronet by his brother Charles, born 1838, father of the 6th and present Baronet, Sir John Courtown Edward Shelley of Avington, Hants, and Field Place, Sussex.

lawyer would promise nothing, Peacock did not doubt that Mary would at length receive an allowance, "though she might be punished by a short delay." [1]

In writing to Trelawny from Kentish Town, on March 4, 1827, Mary spoke of the extreme severity of the winter, that had carried off many old people. Sir Timothy had been laid up with the gout for ten weeks, but he had recovered. "All that time," she continued, "a settlement for me was delayed, although it was acknowledged that Percy, now being the heir, one ought to be made; at length after much parading they have notified me that I shall receive a magnificent £250 a year, to be increased next year to £300. But then I am not permitted to leave this cloudy nook. My desire to get away is unchanged, and I used to look forward to your return as a period when I might contrive—but I fear there is no hope during Sir T.'s life. He and his family are now at Brighton. John Shelley, dear S.'s brother, is about to marry, and talks of calling on me."

Mr. Whitton went to Brighton to see Sir Timothy, who talked over with him Mrs. Shelley's situation. On his return to London the lawyer saw Mrs. Shelley and Peacock, and wrote to Sir Timothy, on March 29th, that he "intimated to them the kind intention you had of affording protection to her and the child

[1] Mrs. Marshall's *Life of Mary Shelley*, vol. ii. p. 150.

of a limited annual amount, under the sum you mentioned to me, because I thought it most prudent to reserve a portion for the increasing expenses of the little Boy and she seemed extremely gratified in your kindness. It was then agreed that a security should be prepared for what had already been paid amounting to about £1000, that is £750 by yourself, the residue by me and for the future advances." After some tedious negotiations with Whitton and Amory & Cole—the lawyers representing Peacock as Shelley's sole surviving trustee, in which Peacock displayed exemplary patience—the business was ultimately arranged. While these details were under discussion, Sir Timothy wrote, on April 1st, to Whitton :

"My motive for arranging with your assistance for Mrs. S. when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Brighton, was to set her above the evils of pecuniary want, and whatever I may feel under the general circumstances, I can never harbour within my breast unchristian-like Feelings towards her, but to make the best of existing things, and acting upon principle and rectitude. Mr. Peacock, her Friend, will no doubt be influenced by the same Motives, and as you are aware of the best to be done, I have only to add, that her Friend may be assur'd, you have ever been a powerful advocate in her favour, and nothing but what is honourable and just would be proposed.

"I forbear to enter into past events, but look to what is just and may be so made appear to all parties.

"Except on a point of positive Law I have not for a long time held the opinion of Counsel in much estimation. I hope the justness of any case I may have to do with may be the rule.

"Having completely conquer'd Gout etc. without the aid of medical advisers, you will as readily conquer the case upon the like principle, Patience and well doing."

Sir Timothy decided to take a personal part in these negotiations, and Whitton therefore wrote to Peacock, on May 9th, to say that his client was desirous of having an explanation in regard to the security with him, and, if he thought proper, with his solicitor, Mr. Amory; and he added that if he could conveniently bring the little boy Sir Timothy would be glad to see him: "but he particularly wishes not to trouble Mrs. Shelley to call with him."

A few days after the interview Sir Timothy wrote to his lawyer: "I felt so unman'd and unpleasant feelings at meeting the Little Boy, and the Gentleman with you, and Mr. Amory brought to my recollection the past, that it unfitted me to say more than leaving it, and most properly too, in your hands: It did not appear to me that Mr. Amory brook'd giving way. I trust you will succeed at last, for I am sure you pointed out no more than was just, if she perchance hold under the will. The Little Boy appear'd a child of 5 years of age; he look'd very small, very healthy, and very clean in his person."

In handing over the business to be settled by Whitton, Sir Timothy showed that he distrusted the methods of Messrs. Amory & Cole, but he wrote on May 21st that "Mr. Peacock seemed to wish to act properly." The delays were causing Mary great inconvenience, and Peacock therefore drafted a letter for her to send to Sir Timothy, which she copied out and sent to Mr. Whitton.

Mary W. Shelley to Sir Timothy Shelley

KENTISH TOWN,
May 29, 1827.

SIR,—It is the subject of great anxiety to me that the period of my signing the deed drawn by Mr. Whitton is again delayed, and I am the more mortified since it appears that this delay is occasioned by a communication of mine. When Mr. Whitton proposed to me that on the contingency of my inheriting on Bysshe's Will I should repay the sums advanced and to be advanced by you to me and my child, I immediately acceded to the arrangement as being just and proper. Mr. Whitton wished that the deed he should draw should be seen and approved by a Solicitor on my part. Mr. Peacock named Mr. Amory, and Mr. Whitton was satisfied with this nomination. As soon as the affair was put into the hands of a Solicitor, I of course considered myself obliged to act under his directions, and in consequence of Mr. Amory's objections all this delay has occurred.

For myself I do not hesitate to say that I put every

confidence in you, Sir Timothy, and that I feel perfectly secure that my interests are safe in your hands, and I am ready to confide them to your direction. It is hard therefore that while I am satisfied with the arrangements you make, that the objections of my advisers should subject me to the dreadful embarrassments with which I am now struggling. It was in February last that Mr. Whitton announced to me your intention of allowing me £250 p. ann., since then I have received no supply. I have lived on credit—the bills incurred are now presented for payment, and neither have I funds to defray them nor any by which I can continue to exist.

I do not understand business: and I do not mean to bring this subject before you as a question of business. The interest you shewed for my son encouraged me in the hope that you also will be desirous of facilitating my earnest wish of bringing him up properly. I consider it perfectly right that I should repay the sums you advance to me for his support, but the means for his support I can only obtain through you. I am sure that you will not permit a question of forms merely to interfere with the welfare of your grandson and the respectability of his mother. It is a great misfortune to me that I am not permitted to see you. It would have been a great happiness if, left a widow, I could have been under the protection of Bysshe's father. This good is denied to me: but let me entreat you to enter into my situation and not to delay in relieving me from the humiliation and distresses to which I am subjected. I believe that Mr. Whitton feels assured that confidence may be safely placed in me and will not advise any further postponement in the desired settlement.

Let me entreat you therefore, Sir Timothy, to direct that the deed in question may be immediately prepared for my signature. Every day is of consequence to me: your kind feelings will, I do not doubt, cause as few to intervene as possible before I am relieved from my embarrassments.

Percy is quite well, and often speaks of you: I hope it will not be long before he has the honour of seeing you again.

I am your obliged and obt. servant,

MARY SHELLEY.

This letter did not meet with Whitton's approval, and one gathers from Mary's next letter that he excused himself from sending it on to Sir Timothy on account of some domestic trouble under which he was suffering at the time.

Mary W. Shelley to W. Whitton

KENTISH TOWN,
June 4, 1827.

SIR,—I am sorry that my letter to Sir Timy Shelley is not satisfactory. I beg you will attribute my failure to my utter ignorance of business and my not knowing exactly what it was necessary that I should say.

I thought that when I expressed my perfect confidence in Sir Timothy, and my readiness to sign the deed in question, that I should efface any disagreeable impression made by my letter to Mr. Amory.

The explanation of that letter is simple. I had, at your wish, confided the conduct of my affairs to Mr. Peacock.

I copied the letter—which certainly when he composed he had no intention it should contain any expressions offensive to Sir T. Shelley. You told me that it conveyed the idea that a foundation was to be laid by it for a suit in Chancery—I am sorry it should have been so ill worded—I utterly disclaim any such intention or thought on my part—I beg to retract any expressions that would give rise to such an idea, or that detract at all from the perfect confidence I feel in Sir Timothy.

I trust that my present communication fills up any omission in my last. If not, and if you will let me know that such is the case, I will call on you at any hour you will appoint that I may learn by what act or word of mine I can bring this painful negociation to a conclusion.

I am most anxious to make the required concessions and to sign the deed—My situation is one of struggle and embarrassment—Besides the debts I have been obliged to incur—I made arrangements (when on the interview of Sir Timy with Messrs. Peacock and Amory, I thought the negociation on the eve of terminating) to quit Kentish Town. I cannot delay my departure more than a fortnight or three weeks—and yet without money I cannot discharge my bills here—Permit me to request as a personal favour to myself that you would kindly use your influence with Sir Timothy—and as speedily as circumstances will permit make such communication to him as will bring this distressing delay to a termination.

May I be allowed to ask what the circumstance is

to which you allude as having occurred in Sir Tim's family.

I am, Sir,

Your obt. Sevt.,

MARY W. SHELLEY.

Sir Timothy agreed at length to advance a sum upon Mrs. Shelley's bond, with the provision that the amount was to be repaid to his estate on his death with interest at 5 per cent. This sum was to provide her with an annual income, to commence on September 1st, which was first fixed at £250, and was subsequently to be augmented when later she would have to meet the increased expenses of her son's education. According to Mrs. Marshall, Mary was staying during most of the autumn of 1827 at Arundel in Sussex, "with, or in the near neighbourhood of her friends, the Miss Robinsons. There were several sisters, to one of whom, Julia, Mrs. Shelley was much attached."[1] While in Sussex Mary wrote to Whitton, on August 15th, from Sompting, near Shoreham, and said she desired to express "her grateful thanks" to Sir Timothy "for his attentions to my poor boy and his kindness towards myself. Percy is very well indeed. The fresh country air and sea baths have added to his look of perfect health. This makes me the less

[1] *Life and Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, by Mrs. Julia Marshall, vol. ii. p. 183.

regret a short delay in putting him to School. Mr. Peacock has meanwhile promised to make enquiries concerning one: My plan is that it should be at a short distance from town and that I should reside close to it. This will be quite necessary at first while he is a day scholar, and afterwards I should not choose to be at any distance from him." Mary found a school for Percy, kept by a Mr. Slater, at Kensington, where she sent him on March 25, 1828.[1] She now saw an opportunity of gratifying her long-cherished desire to take a holiday on the Continent. During Percy's Easter holidays, on April 8th, she wrote to Whitton: "A friend of mine has arrived from the South at Paris, and intends immediately almost to proceed to Germany. As I desire very much to profit by this only opportunity I shall have of seeing her, I intend going to Paris the day after I take Percy back to school (next Thursday). As I shall be exceedingly anxious to return to him, I shall not remain away more than three weeks. The opportunity is the more desirable as I join other friends who are going."

On April 11th Mary wrote in her diary: "I depart for Paris sick of heart yet pining to see my friend" (Julia Robinson). According to the statement of one who knew Mary, in a book entitled *Traits of Character*, "Honour to the authoress and admiration for the

[1] The school is now the Church House to the Carmelite Church.

woman awaited her" in Paris. Mary, however, was both depressed and ill on her journey, and little wonder; for, as she wrote in her diary, she was sickening of the smallpox, with which she was confined to bed as soon as she arrived in Paris, and although the nature of her disaster was concealed from her till her convalescence, she was not so easily duped. Her illness was succeeded by buoyant health and spirits. Though, she said, "a monster to look at," she endeavoured to make herself agreeable to her friends in Paris, "who were very amiable."

Mrs. Shelley stayed at Dover for a few days, on her return from the Continent, for the benefit of the sea-bathing.[1] During her absence she had heard the gratifying news that Sir Timothy had been to see Percy at his school in Kensington. He was much pleased with the little boy, so she was told by Whitton, who believed that Lady Shelley and the Miss Shelleys—then staying in London—also visited Percy. Whitton had also heard that Sir Timothy stated that the child should have lessons in dancing. Mary showed in her letters that she was very anxious her boy should see his grandfather at regular intervals. The old gentleman did meet him from time to time, but it does not appear that he ever gratified Mary's desire

[1] Mary was at Dover on June 4, on which date she wrote to Whitton from that place.

to receive her, although she made frequent attempts to break down his reserve.

In the following letter to a friend of her girlhood, formerly Isabel Baxter, Mary described her illness and her visit to Paris. It would be interesting to identify the name of the young French poet who was so attracted to Mary. There were so many young poets at that time in Paris, each of whom was considered the cleverest man in France.

Mary W. Shelley to Mrs. Isabel Booth

DOVER, *June* 15 [1828].

MY DEAR GIRL,—You will have heard from Mrs. Godwin of my hateful illness and its odious results. Instead of returning to town as I most exceedingly desired—to join my friends there, and to see again dear Isabel—I am fain to hide myself in the country, and as I am told sea bathing will assist materially the disappearance of the marks, I remain on the coast.

I shall long to see you again—to relate and to hear a thousand histories—if I make a longer stay in the country than I now intend perhaps you will join me—but I mean now to return with Percy at the end of his holidays, that is, at the end of July.

I was sickening of my illness when I left town—my journey was so painful that I shudder at the recollection, and I arrived only to go to bed. What will you say to my philosophy when at the end of three weeks in brilliant health but as ugly as the —— I went into society—I was well repaid for my fortitude,

for I am delighted with the people I saw—and some I love and they merit my affection. What will you say also to the imagination of one of the cleverest men in France, young and a poet, who could be interested in me in spite of the mark I wore—It was rather droll to play the part of an ugly person for the first time in my life, yet it was very amusing to be told—or rather not to be told but to find, that my face was not all my fortune.

I have excellent news of my darling boy, whom I long to see again—I hope you are well—Mrs. G. mentioned in her last letter that your children had called there and that all seemed well with you. When I last saw you, dear friend, I very little anticipated this long separation—not at all did I fear that I should avoid London on my return from Paris—instead of seeking it as I intended as speedily as possible—Patience! my malady has made me lose a year of my life—but in spite of the marks that still remain (I am in no danger of permanent disfigurement) I am in good health—and so different from my dreary state all last winter—and looking younger than when you saw me last.

Write to me, dearest, and direct to me at J. Robinson, Esq., Park Cottage, Paddington—and your letter will be forwarded—Early next week I go to Hastings.

My love to Isabel and Kate and remembrances to Mr. Booth.

Affectionately,

M. S.

Have the goodness, love, to put the enclosed in the *twopenny post* for me.

Mary expected that her yearly allowance would have been increased to £300 on sending Percy to school, and she put her case before Whitton for reference to her father-in-law. Until her request was granted she addressed frequent letters to the lawyer, who, loath to give his client the trouble of following the correspondence, only applied to him when compelled. But the subject irritated Sir Timothy, who at length grew testy and wrote: "I must entreat to leave this very troublesome woman to your judgment in respect to Finances. . . . What a wonderful assembly of animals I have to deal with."[1] Of Mary's letters he said: "They are couched in terms far from my approbation, and I trust you will be spared the repetition. I have every sentiment of wishing well to her and the little boy, and that there may be no further trouble given you, under the circumstances I will advance £300 per annum from the 1st day of June 1829."[2] Mrs. Shelley told Whitton, in a letter written on December 2nd, that Percy was receiving lessons in drilling, with a view to curing him of a tendency to stoop. She could not resist a little thrust at her father-in-law, and added: "I think Sir Timothy would find him [Percy] improved and he is really very good and above all tractable, which is not quite the virtue of his father's family."

[1] Sir T. Shelley to Whitton, January 19, 1829. [2] *Ibid.*, June 1, 1829.

On her return to London Mary went to stay with her friends the Robinsons at Park Cottage, Paddington. She repeated her visits to them on many occasions, and on September 1, 1830, she wrote a letter from their address to Whitton on some matter of business. Her friendship with the Robinsons gave rise to a rumour that must have caused her annoyance. Whitton wrote to Sir Timothy, on November 1, 1830, that a person had come into his room and told him, among other things, that " Mrs. Bysshe Shelley had married a person named Robinson," and on inquiry the lawyer obtained the impression, which appears to have had no foundation, that she had lately changed her residence to the house of a person of that name. Sir Timothy replied that Mrs. Paul, wife of the banker's son, while on a visit to Field Place, had spoken of Mary and her little boy, whom she expected to see, whereupon Sir Timothy requested her to take the child a sovereign. The gift was acknowledged in the following letter of thanks to Sir Timothy, who described it as " dictated artfully " ; and he added, with regard to the child's remark that he hoped he should some day be allowed to pay a visit to his grandfather : " On no account whatever would I take the boy. I felt so much on the death of Charles." Sir Timothy thought that Mrs. Paul might be able to solve the question of Mary's sup-

posed marriage. Whitton, however, on making the next payment to Mary, asked her the question, and she declared that she was not married, and there the matter rested.

Percy Florence Shelley to Sir Timothy Shelley

33 Somerset St.,
12th of November, my birthday, 1830.

My dear Grandpapa,—I am very much obliged to you for your kindness in thinking of your little grandson, and in sending me a fine bright sovereign, and I shall think of the goodness of my dear Grandpapa each time I buy any pretty thing with it.

When shall I see you again? I hope soon. As I get on at school, and I hear Mr. Slater is satisfied with me, perhaps some day you will be so very good as to let me pay you and my Grandmama a visit in the country. I am learning to draw, and I like drawing better than any other lesson. I shall buy a box of paints with some of the money you have given me.

Pray give my duty to Lady Shelley and my love to my aunts. I hope, dear Grandpapa, that you will love me, and I will try always to be a good boy. Some ladies friends of Mama who know you, say I am very like you, so I am sure I ought to be good.

I am, my dear Grandpapa,
Your dutiful grandson,
Percy Florence Shelley.

Mary Shelley did not marry again, but she received from Trelawny, then her devoted friend and constant

correspondent, an offer of marriage in 1831. To him she wrote, on June 14th of that year : " Do you think I shall marry ? Never,—neither you nor anybody else. Mary Shelley shall be written on my tomb,—and why ? I cannot tell, except that it is so pretty a name, that though I were to preach to myself for years, I never should have the heart to get rid of it." In a subsequent letter to him she was equally emphatic : " My name will never be Trelawny." Although his attitude towards Mary underwent no immediate change, Trelawny did not remain constant in his devotion ; he seems gradually to have forgotten his former regard for her, and after her death he gave expression to some ungenerous thoughts of the woman whom he once wooed with fervour.

During these years, when Mary was employed in trying to exact from her father-in-law a few additional pounds to her allowance, it is not to be supposed that she lived in seclusion. She does not appear naturally to have been a very cheerful person ; on the contrary, she was given, when alone, to fits of depression and melancholy. Her days were principally devoted to close literary work, though, so far from boasting of her authorship, she pursued her studies almost secretly, and disliked to be found at work by her friends. What Mary Shelley really loved was society, and although her means did not allow her to give dinner parties or

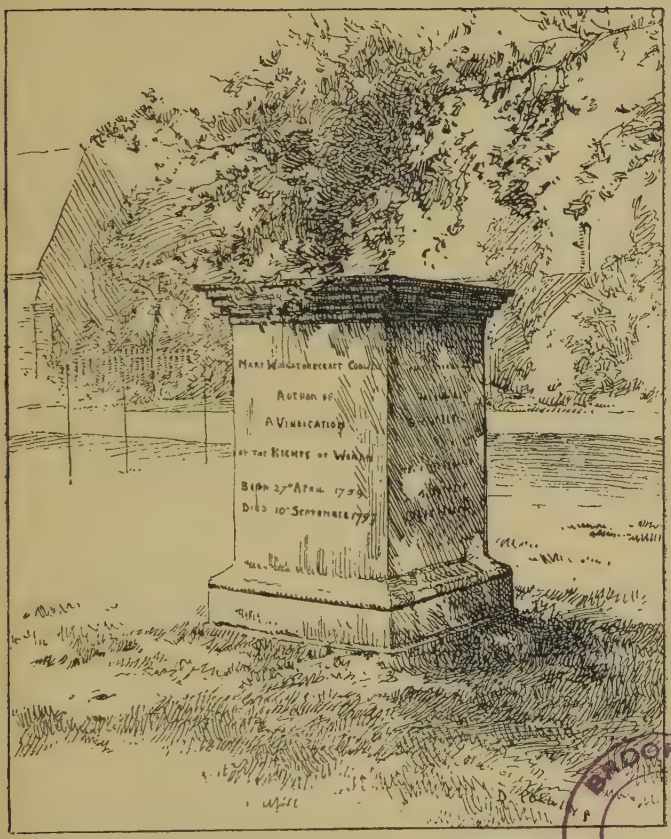
to go to the opera, she made her Wednesday evenings at Somerset Street a feature of London literary life. Besides Shelley's old associates—the Hoggs, Peacock, Hunt, and Horace Smith—who hung together chiefly out of regard for his memory, she also numbered among her friends the Lambs, Bulwer Lytton, and Thomas Moore. Trelawny would have been among her supporters, but he was still abroad, as also was Medwin, though he was not specially in Mary's favour on account of his book on Byron and his aspiration to write Shelley's life, a feat which he subsequently accomplished, much to her dismay.

During the cholera visitation to London in 1832 Mary, anxious for the safety of her boy, took him into the country to a place of safety at Sandgate, but her family did not escape unscathed. Her half-brother William, Godwin's only child by his second wife, a promising young man, was carried off by the epidemic, at the age of thirty-one, in the autumn of 1832. At the time of his death he was parliamentary reporter to the *Morning Post,* was happily married, and he had finished a novel, *Transfusion,* the publication of which was arranged, in 1835, by his father, who prefaced the book by a memoir.

The old philosopher, saddened by the loss of his son, had fallen on evil days. With advancing years he found it increasingly difficult to keep the wolf from

the door. A subscription had been raised in 1823 for his benefit by his friends and admirers. The shop, never a profitable undertaking, had been abandoned, but Mary helped him whenever she could. At length, in 1833, Earl Grey obtained for him the small sinecure of Yeoman of the Exchequer, with residence in New Palace Yard. The nominal duties of the office were wholly performed by deputies. Shortly after his appointment the post was abolished. Godwin, however, was allowed to retain it through the generous influence of some of his old opponents. He enjoyed his pension for some three years, retaining his faculties to the last. He passed away on April 7, 1836, and was buried, as he had desired, by the side of Mary Wollstonecraft in Old St. Pancras' Churchyard.

Godwin's bones were not allowed to remain long in their resting-place, as the construction of two London railways, which run below and through the churchyard, made it necessary to disturb his grave and that of many others. His grandson, Sir Percy Florence Shelley, caused the remains of Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft to be removed in 1851 to the grave at St. Peter's, Bournemouth, where Mary Shelley lies buried. The old four-sided tombstone, where Shelley and Mary plighted their troth in the spring of 1814, is still to be seen in the public garden into which Old St. Pancras' churchyard has been



From a drawing by D. Collins

THE TOMBSTONE OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT AND WILLIAM GODWIN

IN ST. PANCRAS' BURIAL GROUND

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converted, and where the inscriptions may still be read :

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT GODWIN, author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.*
Born 27 April, 1759. Died 10 September, 1797.

WILLIAM GODWIN, author of *Political Justice.*
Born March 3, 1756. Died April 7, 1836. Aged 80 years.

MARY JANE, second wife of WILLIAM GODWIN.
Died June 17, 1841. Aged 75 years.

The following is from a copy of Godwin's will among the Shelley-Whitton papers, and is characteristic of the man who, though he had little to bequeath except the pictures, would not take leave of the world without expressing his last wishes. The pictures, however, proved a valuable inheritance ; that of himself and Mary Wollstonecraft passed to Sir Percy Shelley, and on the death of his widow they found their way to the National Portrait Gallery.

March 12, 1827.

It is the Will of me William Godwin, that all the property of which I die possessed, should go to my wife, Mary Jane Godwin, And I request Mr. John Corrie Hudson of the Legacy Office, Somerset House, to take upon him the administration of this my last Will, as sole Executor.

Witness my hand this twelfth day of March one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven.

WILLIAM GODWIN.

I leave to my son & my daughter my best and most affectionate remembrances, believing the one to be so provided for by the gifts of nature, & the other by marriage & the will of her late husband that nothing that I could add, could be of any importance to them.—I request them both to accept a book, or set of books from my library, at their own choice, as a slight memorial of that affection, of which I would have yielded more substantial testimony, if fortune had put it in my power to do so.

My portrait by Northcote is the principal memorandum of my corporeal existence that will remain after my death. This is of course included in the above general bequest to my wife. But I should not wish it to go from my children, & therefore after her death, I consider it as theirs. If my son, after my death, should be poor perhaps my daughter would purchase his right in it, at what should be judged by an impartial umpire a reasonable rate. The portrait of her mother by Opie is of course my daughter's: & I should not wish that of Mr. Holcroft to be brought to the hammer. It is further my earnest desire that my daughter would have the goodness to look over the manuscripts that shall be found in my own hand-writing, & decide which of them are fit to be printed, consigning the rest to the flames.

I know not whether any of the letters received by me, will be found proper to accompany my worthier papers. Let her judge.

Unless any substantial reason should be offered for a different destination, it is my desire that my mortal remains should be deposited as near as may be, to those of the author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,* in St. Pancras' Churchyard.

Conclusion

It was Shelley's wish that his son should go to a public school, and Mary suggested, at the end of 1830, that he should be sent to Eton. Sir Timothy, however, would not hear of it, as the place aroused painful memories. In regard to this proposal, he said it "would be highly improper, his Poor Father's being there would make his life very unpleasant. From experience I am aware whatever a boy does at a Public School is remember'd for ages. He had better remain at present where he is." Harrow was then proposed, but was rejected at first as being too near London; but his mother subsequently arranged that he should go there, and he entered the school at Michaelmas 1832. Mrs. Shelley went to live at the town on the hill in the following April, so as to be near Percy, who liked the school and progressed; but not so his mother, who was taken ill there and afterwards pined for the society of her friends in London.

Mr. Whitton, who had commenced these arrangements for Percy's education, did not live to see them completed: he had been ailing for some time, and he died in July 1832. Sir Timothy strongly disapproved of Mary's choice, and grumbled at the expense that she had incurred in placing the boy in a Master's house. He thought that she might have obtained equal advantages at Westminster, Merchant Taylors', St. Paul's, or one of the metropolitan schools, and he

declined to listen further to her "importunities" for further help. But she persisted, and Sir Timothy then pointed out that the sum of £6000 which he had agreed to advance would soon be exhausted. "She may not be aware," he wrote to Mr. Gregson, Whitton's successor, in May 1833, "of what may be the residue, and she observ'd too, was I afraid of losing my money. Haughty Dame!"

Mary had evidently thought of putting her son into the law, as Mr. Gregson observed, in a letter to her on December 5, 1835, that it was a very good thing to be a barrister if one possessed industry and perseverance, but that it was a very laborious profession, and without those qualifications success could not be expected in it. He reminded her that the bulk of the property that Percy would inherit was amassed by one of his ancestors who was a lawyer in the Temple,[1] and he added that he should be very glad to see Percy imitate the example. Percy was not, however, destined to be a lawyer. His mother arranged that he should leave Harrow at Easter 1836, and she placed him with a tutor, Mr. Morrison, vicar of Stoneleigh, near Leamington. In writing to Gregson of her intention, she said:

"Percy is in robust health—well-grown—he has

[1] Edward Shelley of Field Place, Warnham (the testator of 1747) was of the Middle Temple.

good spirits and a good temper. I wish Sir Tim would see him before he goes. It is hard that going into another county—where I am promised that he shall be kindly received—that he should go without any mark of kindness from his Father's family, who were not always estranged from him. He himself remembers that his Grandfather was at one time kind enough to notice him, and wonders why there should be any change now, when the notice would benefit him more."

The care that Mary had bestowed on Percy's training and education was productive of happy results. The youth, who had a good deal of the Godwin placidness in his character, seems to have shown himself worthy of his mother's solicitude. Trelawny had observed in a letter to Mary, that "it is well for mamma, Percy has so much of her temperate blood. When us three meet, we shall be able to ice the wine by placing it between us; that will be nice, as the girls say."[1]

It is interesting to obtain a view of Shelley's son as he appeared to his mother at the age of seventeen and a half: a greater contrast to his father could not be conceived. The description is taken from a letter which she wrote to Trelawny from Brighton on January 3, 1837:

"Percy arrived yesterday, having rather whetted than satisfied his appetite by going seven times to a

[1] E. J. Trelawny to Mary W. Shelley, Hastings, Sep. 25, 1836.

play. He plays like Apollo on the flageolet, and like Apollo is self-taught. Jane thinks him a miracle! it is very odd. He got a frock-coat at Mettes, and, if you had not disappointed with your handkerchief, he would have been complete; he is a good deal grown, though not tall enough to satisfy me; however, there is time yet. He is quite a child still, full of theatres and balloons and music, yet I think there is a gentleness about him which shows the advent of the reign of petticoats—how I dread it."

Percy Shelley subsequently went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1841. We get another glimpse of him, now an undergraduate, and as he appeared in September 1838 to Gregson, who wrote of him to Sir Timothy: "He is rather thick-set; but good-looking, healthy and well-mannered."

Although the publication of Mary's romance *The Last Man* had been attended with unpleasant consequences, she did not abandon the writing of fiction. Her historical romance *Perkin Warbeck*, published in 1829, was followed in 1835 by a modern novel entitled *Lodore*, which, as Professor Dowden discovered, contains a veiled autobiography describing the author's privations in London during the year 1814.

With the single exception of *Frankenstein*, no one to-day reads Mary Shelley's novels, which have passed to the limbo of the forgotten. Her literary labours

in another direction have met with better fortune. We have seen that when Sir Timothy Shelley put pressure on Mary to suppress her husband's *Posthumous Poems*, he exacted a promise from her that during his life she would not attempt to bring Shelley's name before the public. She kept this promise, although in 1835 she wrote to tell Mrs. Gisborne that she had received an offer of £600 for an edition of Shelley's works with a *Life* and notes. She added, "I am afraid it cannot be arranged, yet at least, and the *Life* is out of the question."

In the early eighteen-thirties the tide was already turning in favour of Shelley's poetry, and, although there was no authoritative edition of his works, collections of his poems were being circulated by unauthorised publishers. The Galignanis of Paris had issued in 1829 a handsome volume containing Shelley's poems with those of Coleridge and Keats, together with short memoirs and portraits of each poet. The portrait of Shelley was from Miss Curran's picture, which was then in Mary's possession, and it is probable that she assisted the Paris publishers in the arrangement of her husband's poems. Among other editions of Shelley's poems were two volumes of selections brought out in 1827 with the imprint of one Benbow, a notorious London piratical printer. A volume of Benbow's issue fell into Robert Browning's hands

when a boy, and the book, which was recently sold at the sale of the poet's library, bore evidences that it had been the object of the deepest study.

By the year 1838, then, the time had fully arrived for the publication of a collected edition of Shelley's poetry, under the editorship of some person of authority. The choice naturally fell to Mrs. Shelley, and she again ventured to approach Sir Timothy Shelley's legal adviser, and with some hope that her plea might be granted. Mr. Gregson, who was apparently a man of broader views than his predecessor Mr. Whitton, wrote on August 4, 1838, to Sir Timothy :

" Mrs. Shelley writes to me, ' When I returned to England nearly fifteen years ago, Sir Timothy made it a condition with me that I should not publish Shelley's Poems. I complied. His motive was that he did not wish his poetry republished ; but this has not prevented the publication, but only prevented me from receiving any benefit from it. Many pirated editions have been published. There is now a question of another edition, which if I were allowed to carry on myself would be very advantageous to me. I wish therefore to learn whether I might.' I am unable to answer this inquiry, and have not said that I should write to you on the subject, but if you have any wish be pleased to inform me. The ' March of Intellect ' since 1815 has probably placed the rising generation in a situation to be little damaged by this poetry, which I have read of, but never read."

Conclusion

Sir Timothy granted Mary's request, on condition that she did not publish a memoir of Shelley with his poems. She overcame this difficulty, however, by contributing a series of valuable notes to the poems, which contain many biographical facts, and constitute one of the most important sources of information with regard to the poet's life and works. In her preface she explained the aims that guided her in the preparation of the work. She said :

" Obstacles have long existed to my presenting the public with a perfect edition of Shelley's Poems. These being at last happily removed, I hasten to fulfil an important duty—that of giving the productions of a sublime genius to the world, with all the correctness possible, and of, at the same time, detailing the history of those productions, as they sprung, living and warm, from his heart and brain. I abstain from any remark on the occurrences of his private life ; except inasmuch as the passions which they engendered, his poetry. This is not the time to relate the truth ; and I should reject any colouring of the truth."

In dealing with the text of *Queen Mab* a difficulty arose, which Mary explained in the following letter :

Mary W. Shelley to Leigh Hunt

41 Park Street,
December 12, 1838.

My dear Hunt,—I am about to publish an edition of our Shelley's Poems, Sir Tim giving leave if there

is no biography. I want a copy of the original edition of *Queen Mab* to correct the press from—it must be the *original*—it would not go to the Printers, but only [be] used to correct from. Have you one—or do you know who has—Has Miss Kent? I should be so grateful for the loan. Moxon wants me to leave out the sixth part as too atheistical. I don't like Atheism —nor does he *now*. Yet I hate mutilation—what do you say? How have you been, and when does your Play come out? With love to Marianne,

Yours ever,

M. W. Shelley.

Let me have the book quickly—if you have it—*as the press is waiting.*

Mrs. Shelley's edition of her husband's poems was issued in four small volumes (the first of which came out early in 1839), and it was dedicated, with the date of January 20, to Percy Florence Shelley, "by his affectionate mother, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley." She had yielded to the wishes of Edward Moxon her publisher, and omitted from the text of *Queen Mab* the greater part of Canto 6, the whole of Canto 7, and a considerable portion of the notes. Mary soon had reason to regret her compliance, and wrote in her diary on February 12, 1839, that she wished she had resisted her publisher's request, but she had given way when she was told that the inclusion of certain portions of *Queen Mab* "would injure the copyright of all the

volumes." She had consulted Hogg, Hunt, and Peacock, and they all said she had a right to do as she liked, and they themselves offered no objections. When the book was published, her friends seemed to change their views. Trelawny sent back the volume containing *Queen Mab* to Moxon in a rage, on seeing that the poem had not been reprinted in its entirety. Hogg wrote to Mary an insulting letter because the dedication to Harriet in *Queen Mab* had been omitted.

Mary confided to her diary that Hogg as well as others had misunderstood her. She said that when a copy of Clarke's pirated reprint of *Queen Mab* had reached Shelley, in the year 1821, while he was at the Bagni di Pisa, he was gratified to see that the dedication to Harriet had been omitted.[1] The recollection of this incident had actuated her to leave out the dedication from her reprint. "It was to do him honour," she wrote, "what could it be to me? There are other verses I should well like to obliterate for ever, but they will be printed; and any to her could in no way tend to my discomfort, or gratify one ungenerous feeling. They shall be restored, though I do not feel easy as to the good I do Shelley. I may have been mistaken." Perhaps one of the poems that

[1] Clarke's reprint of *Queen Mab* did contain the dedication to Harriet, but it is absent from some copies and was lacking in the one that Shelley saw.

Mary might have wished to suppress was *Epipsychidion*, which, however, she bravely printed, but without a word of comment.

A new edition[1] of the poems was in requisition before the end of the year, and Mrs. Shelley prevailed on Moxon to let her restore the omitted passages from *Queen Mab*, and the dedication. She made some other small additions to and corrections in the text, but she also printed, for the first time, *Peter Bell the Third*, and included *Swellfoot the Tyrant*, which was entirely new to the public; though issued in 1820 during Shelley's lifetime, it had been promptly "stifled at the very dawn of its existence by the Society for the Suppression of Vice." Although this new edition satisfied Shelley's friends, and drew from Trelawny a friendly letter to Moxon of approval and regret for having written his former hasty remonstrance, it led to a Government prosecution in 1841 of Moxon for publishing *Queen Mab*. The case, however, was decided in favour of the publisher, who was ably defended by Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd.

As soon as Mary had prepared the new edition of Shelley's poems, she collected some of his prose writings, among which were *The Defence of Poetry*, the transla-

[1] This edition of Shelley's works in royal 8vo contained the frontispiece portrait of the poet which appeared in the four-volume edition, also a view of his tomb. On this plate is the date of 1839, the title-page bears the date of 1840, and the author's postscript is dated Nov. 6, 1839.

tions from Plato, and a selection of his admirable letters from Italy; these were published in two volumes in 1840. The severe strain of editing these works of Shelley brought on an illness in the spring of 1839, which Mary bore with fortitude, and from which she happily soon recovered. About the middle of the following year, having completed her work, she was able to leave England, with Percy and a College friend of his, on the first of many tours on the Continent, which is described in her *Rambles in Germany and Italy*. This, her last work, was published in 1844. The travellers visited some of those scenes familiar to Mary in former and happier times—the Villa Diodati, Byron's residence in 1816, and the Maison Chapuis, where Shelley and Mary stayed in that year and where she began to write *Frankenstein*. The houses had remained as they were formerly, but Shelley, Byron, and her little William were gone, while Clare had drifted away. The contemplation of these changes no doubt produced some of those melancholy thoughts to which Mary was too readily prone.

The pecuniary circumstances of Mrs. Shelley and her son were now much improved. Percy came of age in 1840, and in the following year, when he took his degree, his grandfather made him an allowance of £400 a year as a gift without any condition for its repayment. Mr. Gregson, in writing to Sir Timothy

on February 20, 1841, spoke of his kindness to his grandson, whom he hoped and believed would be grateful. Percy had called on the lawyer, who had given him his advice in regard to taking up some useful occupation. The young man disliked both the Church and the army, and there only remained the law, which, as Mr. Gregson had before observed, was very "uphill work." He recommended a course of reading preparatory to entering a conveyancer's chambers, in order to know the nature and incidents of the property he was to manage, and to fill the commission of peace, if he did no more.

Much of Sir Timothy's correspondence with Gregson during the latter years of his life was concerned with Stephenson's railway, which ran through a part of the Shelley property. The old baronet died on April 24, 1844. One of Sir Percy Shelley's first acts on succeeding to the title was to pay the legacies under his father's will, and to carry out Shelley's intention of settling an income on Leigh Hunt. Mary Shelley died on February 1, 1851, at Chester Square, where she had kept house with her son until his marriage in 1848, to Jane, daughter of Mr. Thomas Gibson, and widow of the Hon. Charles Robert St. John. Sir Percy settled near Bournemouth about the year 1850, having purchased the Boscombe Manor estates, and he continued to live there for the remainder of his life. If

By kind permission of Mr. Walter Withall, who took this photograph on the leads of the Shelley Theatre, Tite Street, Chelsea, in 1881.

SIR PERCY FLORENCE SHELLEY, BART.

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To face page 624.

he did not specially inherit from his parents their literary gifts, he possessed, like his father, a passion for sailing. At his death he was one of the oldest members of the Royal Yacht Squadron, and he had owned successively about a dozen yachts, the names of which were *The Mary, Wildfire, Ginevra, Jane, Enchantress, Flirt, Nokken, Queen Mab, Extravaganza, Wren,* and *Oceana.* The last-named was in his possession at the time of his death, and was a boat of some 250 tons. This yacht was originally named *Thais,* but Sir Percy said that he had given her a more respectable reputation by renaming her *Oceana* as a tribute to Stevenson. Sir Percy was very fond of the Mediterranean, and spent many winters cruising from Gibraltar to the Greek islands and the Black Sea, but he was specially attracted to the Gulf of Spezzia, in the waters of which his father had met his death.

When he was at home, Sir Percy engaged much of his time in the production of plays from his own pen at one of his private theatres; either at that which he had built at Boscombe Manor or at the theatre in Tite Street, near Shelley House, Chelsea Embankment. He not only provided the plays himself, but he composed the music and painted the scenery with great ability. Sir Percy was a painter of considerable gifts, which were well displayed in his drop scenes. At the opening of the Tite Street

theatre one of his drop scenes, used for the first time on that occasion, was described as "Shelley's Last Home," and showed the poet's house at Lerici in the Bay of Spezzia.

These amateur performances, in which Sir Percy and Lady Shelley frequently took part, were often given for some good cause, for he was a liberal supporter of the charitable and religious institutions at Bournemouth, and soon after the Baptist Chapel was built at Boscombe he was to be seen worshipping there from time to time. He has been described to me by one who knew him for years as a versatile and a very lovable man; but one of his peculiarities was his disinclination to talk about his father.

A characteristic anecdote may be told of Sir Percy, who is said to have remarked in a casual manner to a friend with whom he was driving across the Serpentine, that "that is the place where my father's first wife drowned herself." He would sometimes show his visitors at Boscombe Manor the discoloured little Sophocles that was found on Shelley's body and the eleven companion volumes bound in white vellum close by it, which offered a striking contrast.

Lady Shelley was an enthusiast where the poet or his mother was concerned, and her name figures as the editor on the title-page of *The Shelley Memorials*, although that book is said to have been the work of

either the late Dr. Richard Garnett or Thomas Hookham, Shelley's old friend and correspondent, the Bond Street publisher, who in later years assisted Sir Percy Shelley in the purchase of letters by his father.

Among his friends Sir Percy counted Robert Louis Stevenson, who was living at Bournemouth shortly before he left England for the South Seas, and he dedicated *The Master of Ballantrae* to him, with the following inscription, "To Sir Percy Florence and Lady Shelley as fellow sea-farers and sea-lovers" with the author, from "the loud shores of a subtropical island near upon 10,000 miles from Boscombe Chine and Manor; scenes which rise before me as I write, along with faces and voices of my friends. . . . Well, I am for the sea once more; no doubt Sir Percy also. Let us make the signal B.R.D." The dedication is dated May 17, 1889. Sir Percy lived to read the book, but he was in failing health during that year. He passed away at Boscombe on December 5, and was buried in the grave where his mother lies, at St. Peter's, Bournemouth, on December 10, 1889, having just completed his seventieth year.

Appendix I

Shelley's Negotiations with the Slatters of Oxford (see p. 144)

John Slatter to Sir Timothy Shelley

Oxford,
January 9, 1823.

Sir,—In consequence of your son's death I again applied to Mr. Longdill to settle my account against your son but can obtain no answer, so I have inclosed his acknowledgement of the money but likewise his reference to Mr. Longdill when resident at Marlom to you, the repayment of which I have your honour as the circumstance of your son's being introduced into my family is best known to yourself, and remain yours,

John Slatter,
Plumber and Glazier,
High Street.

[In Sir Timothy's writing on the letter is the following:]

"Tolerably impudent.

"Sir T. S. lodged with Mr. Slatter's Family the whole time he was at Oxford and when he went there occasionally, and Sir T. S. did desire Mr. Slatter to advise his son against any irregularities he might see particularly not to get into debt, for which there was no occasion as he had an ample allowance."

Mr. Whitton to J. Slatter

3 King's Road,
January 15, 1823.

Sir,—Sir Tim Shelley has sent me your letter and the papers enclosed therein and if you will send a person for them the same shall be delivered. If Sir Tim Shelley did make his son known to you it was not with the wish that you should lend him money as Sir Tim well knew what was proper for his son to spend and that he allowed.

The officious interference of you and of others did a most serious injury to the Gent that is now no more—it led him into expenses and a Society and conduct the very reverse of what Sir Tim wished.

It may therefore be unnecessary for me to say that you must take your own conduct to recover what you say you advanced to Mr. Shelley, as Sir Tim declines making any payment to you on account of it and any further application to him or to me on the subject will be considered an intrusion.—Yr. Hble. Servt.,

Wm. Whitton.

[Envelope addressed]

Mr. John Slatter,
Plumber and Glazier,
Oxford.

Henry Slatter to Sir Timothy Shelley

6 Montague Place, Worthing,
August 13, 1831.

Sir,—It is with feelings of great diffidence that I venture to approach you knowing that the subject matter must be painful to a Father's feelings, but having suffered very

much in consequence of a honest endeavour to save your son from flying to Jews for the purpose of obtaining money at an enormous rate of interest, I therefore lay the case before you.

Your Son while at College became acquainted with a person of the name of Brown but who was living at Oxford under the assumed name of Bird. Of him he agreed to purchase a work of his writing for £600. Mr. Shelley applied to us to procure the money for him and he would repay us when he became of age, or he should have to go to London and borrow money of the money-lenders on post-obit bonds: this we dissuaded him from and endeavoured to raise the money for him as he agreed we should be the Printers and Publishers of his work. £200 of this sum was paid out of our pockets in cash and the remainder we became joint security with him to a person of the name of Hedges for £400 and were arrested for the amount at the suit of Hedges by Mr. Graham, Solicitor of Abingdon, with Law expenses and Principal and interest on the whole sum. We have lost upwards of £1300.

The whole is justly our due, but we only ask the Bond and interest thereon having suffered both in body and mind so much in consequence of it. I remain at Worthing three weeks longer my family being here for the benefit of their health after which I shall be in Oxford, but a letter addressed at the latter place would not at all times find me.

I shall be most ready to wait on you to give you any further information or to show you the bond which is now in my possession.—I have the honor to be, Sir, your very obedient Servt.,

HENRY SLATTER.

SIR TIMOTHY SHELLEY, Baronet,
etc., etc., etc.

Enclosures

Bond to John Hedges, dated 25 March 1811, of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Esq. . .	400	0	0
Interest on ditto at 5 per cent. per annum to 25 June 1831	405	0	0
	805	0	0

The above sums have been paid for and on Acct. of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Esq., by Joseph Munday and Henry Slatter, late Co-Partners at Oxford, Printers and Booksellers, in consequence of proceedings against them by Wm. Graham, Esq., Solicitor, Abingdon, at the suit of Hedges.

The following is a later statement of the account sent after the death of Sir Timothy Shelley in 1844:—

March 25, 1811.

To Money advanced to Mr. Bird for his MS. work on Sweden, viz., £200 in Notes of Hand and £400 raised by joint Bond of John Hedges, and paid by the late Joseph Munday and his surviving Partner, Henry Slatter, on account of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Esq., viz. . . .	£600	0	0
1844			
Sept. 29. Interest 33 and ½ years thereon .	1005	0	0
	1605	0	0

[*Endorsed*] P. B. Shelley, Esq. (dec$^{d.}$)
Mr. Henry Slatter, Bookseller, Oxford.

Appendix II

Shelley's Arrest for Debt at Carnarvon in 1812

(see p. 396)

In Roberts' first letter written to Sir Timothy Shelley after the death of P. B. S. he refers to a loan to the poet of £6 only. In the second letter to Peacock, after Sir Timothy Shelley's death, he asks for £30. Whether this sum represents compound interest on £6 for twenty years or not, it is impossible to say. The Owen Williams mentioned in the third letter was a brother of Shelley's correspondent John Williams, to whom he wrote from Tanyrallt on April 14, 1814, "We are in immediate want of money, could you borrow £25 in my name to paying little debts? I know your brother could lend me that sum. I think you could ask him on such an occasion as this."

William Roberts to Sir Timothy Shelley

Carnarvon, North Wales,
February 7, 1824.

Sir,—I took the liberty of writing to you a few years ago respecting Six pounds which your son was indebted to me. I assure you it is a very hard case with me to be without the money; really it would be an object to me now, if you would be kind enough to enclose them. As your son is dead I have no other person to apply to but yourself; you will, I trust, consider the justice of the claim and favor

me with an answer when convenient.—I am, Sir, your obedient servt.,

WILLIAM ROBERTS, *Surgeon.*

William Roberts to T. L. Peacock

UXBRIDGE PLACE, CARNARVON, N.W.
June 12, 1844.

SIR,—Having lately seen an account of the death of Sir Timothy Shelley, may I be allowed to hope you will pardon the liberty of my troubling you on the following subject.

About 30 years ago since, his son Mr. P. B. Shelley was arrested in this town for a sum of money which he owed, and he would have been put in Gaol if I had not bailed him for the amount. Thus our acquaintance commenced, and soon after he sent for me to attend his family at Tremadoc, 20 miles from this place. I also lent him some money which he never paid, so he left the country £30 in my debt. When I called upon you at the India House last Septr. you encouraged me with the hope that I should have this £30 in the event of your surviving Sir Timothy. The whole therefore I beg respectfully to submit to your sense of justice. If I can be of any use to you in this country I hope you will not hesitate to command my service.

My kindest regards to Mrs. Peacock. The favour of an answer would greatly oblige, Sir, your very humble servt.,

WILLIAM ROBERTS.

N.B.—It may be proper to observe that Mr. Shelley paid the money for which he was arrested.

I suppose the Executors of Owen Williams, the Anglesea farmer, have applied to you.

Appendix II

Hugh Owen to T. L. Peacock

Poor Law Commission Office,
Somerset House,
December 12, 1844.

Dear Sir,—According to the kind permission which you gave me this morning I now beg to lay before you the claim of my old friend and neighbour Mrs. Williams, the Widow of the late Owen Williams of Gelliniog Wen, Parish of Llangeinwen, Anglesey.

Many years ago, I believe upwards of 30 (I find I have no memorandum of the date), Owen Williams, then residing at Tydden Newborough, Anglesey, advanced on the application of Mr. Williams of Tyhurit ir Bwlch Tremmadock, to Mr. Percy Shelley the sum of £100, as security for which Mr. Shelley gave to him (Owen Williams) a Bond stipulating for the payment of £200 on the death of Mr. Shelley's father and grandfather.

No part of this money, which was the hard earnings of a very small farmer, has ever been repaid: neither has any interest ever been received.

The payment of the money now would be of essential service to the poor Widow, and I venture to solicit your kind interference on her behalf with those who have the management of the Shelley Family.

I have the honour to be, Dear Sir, your faithful servt.,

Hugh Owen.

Thos. Love Peacock, Esq.,
etc., etc., etc.

Appendix III

Shelley's Coachmaker's Account, 1813

(see page 408)

John Dumbreck to Sir Timothy Shelley

Edinburgh, *July* 4, 1823.

Sir,—I use the freedom of prefixing state of Account due to me by your late son, John B. Shelley, Esq., contracted while in Edinburgh in 1813.

I have frequently applied for payment to Mr. Shelley's Agents in London (Messrs. Londill & Butterfield) who delayed paying on the ground of Mr. Shelley's being abroad and their having no instructions to that effect.

Mr. William Dumbrick of the Hotel St. Andrews Sqr. here is bound to me for the debt, who when in London some time ago called on Messrs. Londill & Butterfield with the Account, who agreed to pay it, but his stay in Town being exceedingly limited he had not time to call on these Gentlemen again.

Mr. Dumbrick agreed to see my Account paid in consequence of my declining to part with Mr. Shelley's carriage after repairing it, but being sensible that this will be a serious loss to Mr. Dumbrick I have judged it proper to state the case to you trusting you will see the impropriety of my insisting on payment from Mr. Dumbrick, he having no further interest in the matter than a wish to oblige a customer (as Mr. Shelley was).

I therefore hope you will order payment to be made to prevent my taking legal measures to force payment from

Appendix III

Mr. Dumbrick which I shall be reluctantly compelled to, in the event of your declining to settle my just claim.—
I remain with much respect, Sir, your most obt. Servant,

JOHN DUMBRECK.

Please address to me, Coachmaker, Edinburgh.

SIR TIMOTHY SHELLEY, Bart.

J. B. SHELLEY, Esq., 1813. To JOHN DUMBRECK.

Nov. 1.	For unhanging the chariot body, taking off the eight springs, taking them asunder, putting in 8 new main Plates, 4 new steel, pulling the springs together again and fixing them on . . .	£5	8	0
,,	1 new double-screwed Hasp for screwing the other 3 Hasps, 13 new bolts, 2 new blocks, hanging the body, painting and picking out the 8 springs	2	4	0
,,	New leather for the front, lined with shalloon and screwed to the top of the dicky	0	8	0
,,	Taking off the side curtains, making them waterproof, putting in 2 strong frames with glass doors, and fixing on the curtains . .	0	16	0
,,	Cleaning the body and carriage, and greasing the wheels . . .	0	3	0
;,	2 new lamps, and putting them on .	3	3	0
,,	A new floor-cloth cover for hind boot	0	7	6
,,	Wax candles for the lamps . .	0	5	0
,,	Slanee for carriage	1	4	0
		£13	18	6
	Interest due on this account	6	1	6
		£20	0	0

Shelley in England

T. Charters to T. L. Peacock

6 New Chapel Place,
Kentish Town,
August 31, 1844.

Sir,—Being a creditor of the late Percy Bysshe Shelley, Esq., for Coachmaker's work done for him up to Novr. 1815 to the amount of £532, 11s. 6d. for which I hold his Bill of Exchange drawn at Four years after date with Judgment entered up to secure payment and not having hitherto received any benefit from it in consequence of the unfortunate decease of the said P. B. Shelley, Esq., and the non-execution of his will, I respectfully beg to solicit your attention to my claim, and in your capacity as Executor to that Will, crave your kind endeavours to obtain for me some arrangement from the family now in possession of the property by which you will be rendering me a most essential service and which will at all times be gratefully acknowledged, and acknowledged by, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

Thos. Charters.

To Thos. Love Peacock.

[Addressed]

Thomas Love Peacock, Esq.,
18 Stamford Street,
Blackfriars.

Appendix IV

Shelley's Re-Marriage in London, 1814

(see page 442)

Bond of P. B. Shelley and John Westbrook, *dated 22 March*, 1814

amp £1. Know all Men by these Presents that We Percy Bysshe Shelley of the Parish of Saint George Hanover Square in the County of Middlesex Gentleman and John Westbrook of the same Parish Gentleman are holden and firmly bound to the most Reverend Father in God, Charles by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan in the Sum of Two Hundred Pounds of good and lawful Money of Great Britain to be paid to the said most Reverend Father or his certain Attorney, Successor, or Assigns; To which Payment well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves, and each of us by himself, for the whole, our executors and administrators firmly by these Presents, Sealed with our Seals Dated the twenty second day of March in the Year of our Lord One Thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

The Condition of this Obligation is such, That if hereafter there shall not appear any lawful Let or Impediment by Reason of any Precontract entered into before the twenty fifth day of March, which was in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty four,[1] Con-

[1] By Statute 26 G. 2, c. 33, intituled "An Act for the better preventing of Clandestine Marriages," it was enacted that all marriages solemnized by License after the 25th Mar. 1754, where either of the parties should be under 21, which should be had without the consent of the parent of such parties under age first obtained, should be null and void.

sanguinity, affinity or any other cause whatsoever; but that the above bounden Percy Bysshe Shelley and Harriet Shelley Minor heretofore Westbrook having been already married may lawfully solemnise Marriage together and in the same afterwards lawfully remain and continue for Man and Wife, according to the Laws in that behalf provided: And moreover, if there be not at this present time any Action Suit, Plaint, Quarrel or Demand moved or depending before any Judge Ecclesiastical or Temporal for or concerning any such lawful Impediment between the said Parties Nor that either of them be of any other Place or of better Estate or Degree than to the judge at granting of this Licence is suggested and by him Sworn to by and with the consent of the above bounden John Westbrook the natural and lawful Father of the said Minor.

And if the same Marriage shall be openly solemnised in the Church or Chapel in the Licence specified, between the hours appointed in the Constitutions ecclesiastically confirmed and according to the Form of the Book of Common Prayer now by law established; and lastly, if the said parties do save harmless and indemnify the above mentioned Most Reverend Father in God, his Vicar General, and his Surrogates and all other his Officers whatsoever, by reason of the Premises; then this Obligation to be void or else to remain in full Force and Virtue.

Signed sealed and delivered (having been first duly stamped) in the presence of

C. H. Sims.

Percy Bysshe Shelley Seal

John Westbrook Seal

Appendix V

Shelley's Elopement with Mary Godwin, 1814

(see page 443)

Since the greater part of this book was printed my attention has been drawn to a letter written by William Godwin to John Taylor of Gildengate, Norwich, under the date of November 8, 1814, in regard to Shelley's elopement with his daughter Mary in the preceding summer. Jane Clairmont, afterwards known as Claire, accompanied the fugitives. It is curious to note that Godwin mentions that Shelley and his companions stayed three weeks in Switzerland, whereas it is generally understood that they remained only forty-eight hours at the château near Lucerne on the borders of the Lake of the Four Cantons. The owner of the letter, Miss Westcott, has very kindly permitted me to print the following extract:—

"When I last wrote to you, I understood that these unhappy girls, with their pretended protector, had fixed their abode in Switzerland, with fifty pounds in their pockets. How great was our surprise then on the 16th of September to receive a letter informing us that they were already in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, London! They had taken, it seems, an old, ruinous château in Switzerland; but finding that the climate was cold, and the situation not solitary, but surrounded with inquisitive neighbours, at the end of three weeks, they turned round, and travelled with the utmost expedition for England.

This has been a cruel aggravation of our distress. Distance, like time, tends to mitigate the anguish of human feelings ; but with them thus as it were at our doors, and the chance of hearing of them every hour, we cannot for a moment lose sight of the fatal event."

Godwin then goes on to state that his wife was very anxious to recover her daughter Jane [Claire] who was acting from " a childish love of new things." She had been spoken to by Godwin and by some sage friend and had seen Fanny to no purpose. The Godwins thought of taking the girl by force, but refrained from such a course. All they seem to have done was to propose that Jane should become a governess, but not liking that they proposed that they would find a family where she should be received on the footing of a visitor merely. Jane replied that no consideration should part her from " her present friends," but she offered to comply on two conditions, viz., " that she should in all situations openly proclaim and earnestly support, a total contempt for the laws and institutions of society, and that no restraint should be imposed upon her correspondence and intercourse with those from whom she was separated." The Godwins declined to comply with these conditions.

Appendix VI

Abstract of Deed Poll whereby P. B. Shelley disclaimed all Interest under the Will of his Grandfather Sir Bysshe Shelley (see page 454)

1 March 1815. By a DEED POLL of this date under the hand and seal of the said PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY AFTER RECITING (among other things) the Will of his grandfather Sir Bysshe Shelley (dated 1805) and a Codicil thereto dated the 29th October 1811 AND AFTER RECITING that the said Percy Bysshe Shelley not considering the benefits conditionally conferred on him by the said Will as a sufficient inducement for him to relinquish his Estate tail expectant on the death of the survivor of Sir Bysshe Shelley and his father Timothy Shelley of and in the Manors and other hereditaments comprised in the Indentures of Settlement dated 20 August 1791 and 30 September 1782 had determined not to comply with the conditions contained in the said Codicil but to renounce and disclaim all right under the said Will IT WAS WITNESSED that the said PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY did thereby for himself and his heirs irrevocably renounce and disclaim unto all persons whatsoever interested in the premises all such estate benefit and advantage whatsoever into from or out of the heredits and premises devised and bequeathed by the said Will of the sd. Sir Bysshe Shelley or any Codicil thereto and from or out of the moiety of the residuary personal Estate of the said Sir Bysshe.[1]

[1] By the execution of this deed Percy Bysshe deprived his issue male of the very considerable benefits which they otherwise would have taken under Sir Bysshe's will and which benefits in consequence passed to his brother John and his issue male. Sir Bysshe's residuary personal estate alone amounted to £143,675, 12s. 5d., as appears from the Chancery proceedings.

Appendix VII

Abstract of Appointment by Sir Timothy Shelley and P. B. Shelley of the Estates devised by the Will, dated 1782, of John Shelley of Field Place

13 May 1815. By indenture of this date made between Percy Bysshe Shelley of Marchmont Street Brunswick Square of the first part Sir Timothy Shelley of the second part and Robert Parker (the brother-in-law of Timothy) of the third part after reciting the Will of the said John Shelley and a Fine levied by Percy Bysshe with the concurrence of Timothy and after reciting that Percy Bysshe lately proposed to Timothy that if Timothy would give him an adequate consideration for his concurrence in exercising a certain joint power of appointment in such manner as would vest in Timothy the fee in the Estates devised by the Will of John Shelley he the said Percy Bysshe would concur in all acts necessary for that purpose and after reciting that on a discussion of the said proposals of the said Percy Bysshe it was agreed between him and his father that the consideration should consist partly of the payment of a sum of money and partly of an Annuity to be paid by the said Timothy and after reciting that Timothy and Percy Bysshe afterwards fixed the said Annuity at £1000 and after reciting that both the said Timothy and Percy Bysshe had consulted with their friends and professional advisers on various statements made between them as to the value of the said Estate devised by the said Will and of their interest therein and

that they the said Timothy and Percy Bysshe having taken the same into their consideration they had agreed with each other that the sum of £7400 should be paid IT WAS WITNESSED that in consideration of £7400 paid by Timothy to Percy Bysshe and of the payment of an annuity of £1000 to be paid by Timothy to Percy Bysshe during the joint lives of Timothy and Percy Bysshe THEY Timothy and Percy Bysshe (in exercise of the joint power of appointment reserved to them) did appoint the Estates devised by the said Will of John Shelley TO SUCH USES as Timothy should by any deed or by his Will appoint.

Appendix VIII

Abstract of Deed whereby Sir Timothy Shelley covenanted to pay an Annuity of £1000 per annum to P. B. Shelley during their Joint Lives

13 May 1815. By indenture of this date made between Sir Timothy Shelley of the first part Percy Bysshe Shelley of the second part and the said Robert Parker of the third part after reciting (among other things) that the said Percy Bysshe Shelley having a wife and two children unprovided for and having contracted debts to a considerable amount had made a certain proposal to the said Sir Timothy Shelley and that the said Sir Timothy Shelley had taken such proposal into consideration and as well for the purpose of enabling the said Percy Bysshe Shelley to make a suitable provision for his said wife and children as for delivering him from his embarrassments the said Sir Timothy Shelley had agreed to comply with such proposal and to advance the said Percy Bysshe Shelley a certain sum of money for payment of his debts and to secure to the said Percy Bysshe Shelley payment of an annual sum of one thousand pounds during the joint lives of the said Sir Timothy Shelley and Percy Bysshe Shelley it was witnessed that the said Sir Timothy covenanted to pay to the said Percy Bysshe Shelley during their joint lives the annual sum of one thousand pounds payable in quarterly instalments on the 25th day of March the 24th day of June the 29th day of September and the 25th day of December in every year and charged certain lands of Sir Timothy Shelley with the payment of the said Annuity.[1]

[1] There is no copy of this deed among the Shelley-Whitton papers. The above abstract has been made from Longdill's affidavit in the Shelley *v.* Westbrook litigation.

Appendix IX

The Inquest on Harriet Shelley's Body

(see page 476)

[*Endorsement*

WARRANT ON THE BODY OF HARRIET SMITH

December 11, 1816

St. Margaret

List of the Jury: John Smith, Daniel Lounds, Richard Jones, Henry Taylor, Wm. Rumbell, Thomas Bailey, Abm. Sarvis, George Cope, Saml. House, Richd. Tirds, Robt. Smith, Thomas Holland.]

City and Liberty of Westminster in the County of Middlesex } to wit.

To the Constables of the Parish of Saint Margaret Westminster within the said Liberty of Westminster.

The Execution of this Warrant appears by the Schedule hereto annexed

James Gray Constable

By virtue of my Office these are in his Majesty's Name to charge and command you that on Sight hereof you summon & warn Twenty-four able and sufficient Men of the said Liberty, personally to be and appear before me on Wednesday the Eleventh Day of December by Twelve of the Clock at noon of the same Day at the house of Thomas Phillips known by the sign of the Fox Knightsbridge then and there to do and execute all such Things as shall be given them in Charge, on the Behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty touching the death of Harriet Smith and for your so doing this is your Warrant. And that you also attend at the Time and Place above-mentioned, to make a Return of the names of those you shall so summon And

further to do and execute such other Matters as shall be then & there enjoined you, and have you then and there this Warrant Given under my Hand and Seal this Tenth Day of December in the year of our Lord 1816.

(Signed) JNO. HY. GELL
Coroner

Seal

[*Endorsement*
INFORMATION OF WITNESSES ON VIEW OF THE BODY OF HARRIET SMITH
December 11, 1816
St. Margt. Westr.
Verdict: Found dead in the Serpentine River.]

City and Liberty of Westminster in the County of Middlesex to wit.

INFORMATION OF WITNESSES taken this eleventh day of December One thousand eight hundred and sixteen at the House of Thomas Phillips known by the sign of the Fox situate in Knightsbridge in the Parish of Saint Margaret Westminster, on view of the Body of Hariet [*sic*] Smith then and there lying dead as follows to wit—

JOHN LEVESLEY of No. 38 Dennings Alley Bishopsgate Street Without an Out Pensr. belonging to Chelsea Hospital being sworn saith as follows:

About 10 o'clock yesterday Morning the 10th day of December instant I was walking by the side of the Serpentine on my way to Kensington and observed something floating on the River which conceiving to be a human Body I called to a boy on the opposite side to bring his Boat which after some time he did to the side of the bank of the River on which I stood. I got into the boat & found that it was the Body of the deceased quite dead, there appeared no sign of life and I have no doubt that the Body must have lain in the Water some days.

(Signed) JOHN LEAVSLEY [*sic*]

Appendix IX

William Alder a Lodger at the Fox Public House aforesaid, Plumber, being sworn saith as follows :

I knew the deceased she resided at No. 7 Elizabeth Street Hans Place she was a married Woman but did not live with her husband—she had been missing as I was informed from her House upwards of a Month, and at the request of her Parents when she had been absent about a week I dragged the Serpentine River and all the ponds near thereto without effect the deceased having for sometime labored under lowness of Spirits which I had observed for several months before and I conceived that something lay heavy on her Mind. On hearing yesterday that a Body was found I went and recognized it to be the deceased—she was about 21 years of age and was married about 5 years.

(Signed) Wm. Alder.

Jane Thomas of 7 Elizabeth Street Hans Place, Widow, being sworn saith as follows :

The deceased occupied the second floor in my House she took them accompanied by a Mr. Alder, she stated that she was a married lady & that her Husband was abroad she took them from month to month—she had been with me about 9 weeks on the 9th of November last, she paid her month's Rent on the Thursday preceding—she appeared in the family way and was during the time she lived in my House in a very desponding and gloomy way—on the 9th of November last she left my House as I was informed by my servant Mary Jones I did not see the deceased that day.

(Signed) Jane Thomas.

Mary Jones, Servant to the last Witness, being sworn saith as follows :

On Saturday the ninth of November last the deceased breakfasted and dined in her Apartments, she told me

previously that she wished to dine early & she dined about 4 o'clock—she said very little, she chiefly spent her time in Bed. I saw nothing but what was proper in her Conduct with the exception of a continual lowness of Spirits —she left her Apartment after Dinner which did not occupy her more than 10 minutes—I observed she was gone out on my going into her room about 5 o'clock that day. I never saw or heard from her afterwards.

The × mark of
MARY JONES.

[*Endorsement*
INQUISITION ON VIEW OF THE BODY OF HARRIET SMITH
December 11, 1816
St. Margt., Westr.
Verdict: Found dead in the Serpentine River.]

City and Liberty of Westminster in the County of Middlesex } to wit.

AN Inquisition Indented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at the House of Thomas Phillips known by the Sign of the Fox in Knightsbridge in the Parish of Saint Margaret Westminster within the Liberty of the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, the Eleventh day of December in the Fifty-seventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, before John Henry Gell Esq. Coroner of our said Lord the King for the said City and Liberty, on view of the body of Hariet [*sic*] then and there lying dead, upon the oath of the several Jurors whose names are hereunder written, and Seals affixed, good and lawful Men of the said Liberty, duly chosen, who being then and there duly sworn and charged to enquire for our said Lord the King, when, how, and by what Means the said Harriet [*sic*] Smith came to her Death, do upon their Oath say, that the said Harriet Smith on the tenth day of December in the year aforesaid at the Parish aforesaid

in the City Liberty and County aforesaid was found dead in the Serpentine River, to wit near Kensington in the Parish City Liberty and County aforesaid, that the said Harriet Smith had no marks of violence appearing on her body, but how or by what means she became dead, no evidence thereof does appear to the Jurors.

In witness whereof, as well the said Coroner as the Jurors have to this Inquisition set their Hands and Seals the Day, Year and Place first above written.

Jno. Hy. Gell G.R. Coroner

The × mark of John Smith, Foreman G.R.

Geo. Cope G.R.

The × mark of Henry Taylor G.R.

Robt. Smith G.R.

Abm. Sarvis G.R.

Richard Jones G.R.

Richard Tirds G.R.

Thos. Bailey G.R.

Daniel Lownds G.R.

Saml. House G.R.

Wm. Rumble G.R.

Thomas Holland G.R.

Appendix X

Shelley's Marriage to Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin in 1816 (see page 488)

ALLEGATION OF P. B. SHELLEY AND WM. GODWIN

Dated 28 *Decr.* 1816

Vicar General's Office 28 *December* 1816

Which day appeared personally Percy Bysshe Shelley and made Oath, that he is of the Parish of Saint Mildred Bread Street London a Widower and intendeth to intermarry with Mary Wallstonecraft [*sic*] Godwin of the City of Bath Spinster a minor of the age of nineteen years & upwards but under the age of twenty one years by & with the consent of William Godwin the natural & lawful Father of the said minor and that he knoweth of no lawful impediment, by reason of any Precontract, Consanguinity, Affinity or other lawful cause whatsoever, to hinder the said intended Marriage, and prayed a Licence to solemnize the same in the Parish Church of Saint Mildred Bread Street aforesaid and further made Oath, that the usual place of abode of the appearer hath been in the said Parish of Saint Mildred Bread Street for the space of four weeks last past.

Percy Bysshe Shelley

Then appeared personally the said William Godwin and made Oath that he is the natural & lawful Father of the said minor & freely consents to the above intended marriage.

W. Godwin

Sworn before me, S. Parson. Sur—

Appendix X

Bond of P. B. Shelley and W. Godwin

Dated 28 *Decr.* 1816

Stamp £1. Know all Men by these Presents that We Percy Bysshe Shelley of the Parish of Saint Mildred Bread Street London Gentleman & William Godwin of the City of Bath Gentleman are holden and firmly bound to the most Reverend Father in God, Charles, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, in the sum of Two Hundred Pounds of good and lawful Money of Great Britain to be paid to the said most Reverend Father, or his certain Attorney, Successor, or Assigns: To which Payment well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves, and each of us by himself, for the whole, our executors and administrators firmly by these Presents Sealed with our Seals Dated the twenty eighth day of December in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight hundred and sixteen.

The condition of this Obligation is such, That if hereafter there shall not appear any lawful Let or Impediment by Reason of any Precontract entered into before the twenty fifth day of March, which was in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty four, Consanguinity, Affinity or any other Cause whatsoever; but that the above bounden Percy Bysshe Shelley a Widower & Mary Wallstonecraft [*sic*] Godwin Spinster a Minor may lawfully solemnize Marriage together and in the same afterwards lawfully remain and continue for Man and Wife, according to the Laws in that behalf provided; And moreover, if there be not at this present Time any Action, Suit, Plaint, Quarrel, or Demand, moved or depending before any Judge, Ecclesiastical or Temporal for or concerning any such lawful Impediment between the said Parties Nor that either of them be of any other Place, or of better Estate or Degree than to the Judge at granting

of this Licence is suggested and by him sworn by & with the consent of the said William Godwin the natural & lawful Father of the said Minor.

And if the same Marriage shall be openly solemnized in the Church or Chapel in the License specified, between the Hours appointed in the Constitutions ecclesiastically confirmed, and according to the Form of the Book of Common Prayer, now by Law established; and, lastly, if the said parties do save harmless and indemnify the above mentioned Most Reverend Father in God, his Vicar General, and his Surrogates, and all other his Officers whatsoever, by Reason of the Premises; then this Obligation to be void or else to remain in full Force and Virtue.

Signed sealed and delivered (having been first duly stamped) in the presence of

JNO. MATTHEWS.

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY Seal

W. GODWIN Seal

Appendix XI

Marriage of Ianthe Eliza Shelley to Edward Jeffries Esdaile (see page 515)

J. Gregson to Sir Timothy Shelley

July 29, 1837.

Dear Sir Timothy,—Mr. Esdaile is the eldest son of the eldest son of old Mr. Esdaile of the late firm of Esdaile & Co. the bankers of Lombard St. Mr. Esdaile, the father of the intended, had a considerable property on his mother's side. His father the banker also, I believe, settled a large sum upon him. He was never in business and consequently escaped the recent misfortune. He has lived as a country gentleman in Somersetshire, and is, I believe, a very estimable person, and his son will make a very respectable match for the young lady upon whom report says that Mr. Beauchamp intends to bestow a fortune. I have it stated that Mr. Edward Esdaile has £4000 per annum, but my own impression is that this is an exaggeration.—We were certainly beaten by bribery at Leominster. I did not know that Mr. Greenaway was a connection of Mr. Hurst. He cannot retain his seat if the affair be followed up.—Yrs., etc.,

J. Gregson.

Sir T. Shelley, Bart.

Shelley in England

Mrs. Parker to Sir Timothy Shelley

6 Circus, Bath,
December 13, 1837.

My dear Brother,—Ianthe[1] and Mr. Esdaile lunched with me. She seemed very well and very happy—he behaved perfectly like a gentleman and very attentive to his wife. They were going to Bristol that evening to visit her Aunt before she returned to her own home. She promised to write to me, but I have never heard a word of or from her since, and Mr. Esdaile said he would remind her to write as soon as she got home. Spoke much of the pleasure they had in their visit at Field Place, but Mr. Beauchamp was going to London upon business and wished to see them before he went and she said we must not disappoint him. . . .—Your affectionate sister,

H. Parker.

[1] In September 1837 Eliza Ianthe Shelley (Shelley's eldest child by his first wife Harriet), then of Watford House, Somerset, was married to Edward Jeffries Esdaile, the younger son of E. J. Esdaile the elder, of Cothelbestone House, Somerset.

On her marriage she settled the legacy of £6000 bequeathed to her by the will of her father.

SHELLEY'S MS. NOTE-BOOK

Shelley's MS. Note-Book [1]

Trelawny states that when he left Leghorn on August 13, 1822, and went on board Byron's boat the *Bolivar* to superintend the burning of the bodies of Shelley and Williams, he "had previously engaged two large feluccas, with drags and tackling, to go before, and endeavour to find the place where Shelley's boat had foundered." Having ascertained the spot where the *Ariel* had last been seen afloat, they succeeded in finding her, but failed to get her up. Trelawny wrote to Captain Roberts, who was at Genoa, and asked him to "complete the business." Roberts was successful in bringing the boat to the surface, and he anchored her off Via Reggio. On September 18, he wrote to Trelawny to say that by Byron's advice he had sold the *Ariel* by auction, and she realised a trifle more than two hundred dollars, and he had divided the proceeds with the crew of the felucca who had been employed in getting her up. Out of the hull, he said, "we fished clothes, books, spyglass, and other articles. We found in the boat two memorandum-books of Shelley's quite perfect, and another damaged, a journal of Williams' quite perfect, written up to the 4th July. I washed the printed books; some of them were so glued together by the slimy mud that the leaves could not be separated; most of these are now in Ld. B.'s custody. The letters, private papers, and Williams' journal, I left in charge of Hunt, as I saw there were many severe remarks on Ld. B." [2]

The note-book, now under examination, may be the one referred to by Captain Roberts as damaged. It has passed successively through the hands of Mary Shelley, Sir Percy Shelley, and Jane, Lady Shelley, to its present owner, Sir John C. E. Shelley. Photographs have been made of every page of the book, and from these pages I have endeavoured to give a faithful transcription. The difficulties of this task will be realised by an examination of the facsimiles. It is obviously a note-book

[1] The copyright of the contents of this book is reserved by Sir John C. E. Shelley.

[2] Trelawny's *Recollections*.

in which Shelley used to jot down the rough ideas of his poems. I have attempted to arrange the pages in something approaching order. From the contents it would seem to have been used by Shelley during the year 1821.

The passages and words within square brackets in the transcripts, show Shelley's cancellations.

A DEFENCE OF POETRY

[This essay was to have consisted of three parts, the first of which only was written by Shelley early in the year 1821. It was designed as a reply to an article entitled "The Four Ages of Poetry," contributed by Thomas Love Peacock to the first number of *Ollier's Literary Miscellany*. This periodical, for which *A Defence of Poetry* was intended as a contribution, was discontinued, and a manuscript of Shelley's article came into the hands of John Hunt, with a view to its insertion in *The Liberal*. Hunt went over the manuscript and deleted any references to Peacock's article, but before it could be printed *The Liberal* ceased publication at the fourth number. It was not until 1841 that Mrs. Shelley, having regained possession of the MS., printed the *Defence*, for the first time, in Shelley's *Essays and Letters from Abroad*. The passages deleted by Hunt were not restored by Mrs. Shelley, and they remained unprinted until M. A. H. Koszul re-edited the essay from two of Shelley's MSS. now in the Bodleian, for his little volume of *Shelley's Prose in the Bodleian Library*. One is a draft which shows, like the following pages of *Adonais*, the author's careful method of composition. The other is apparently the fair copy that was sent to Ollier on March 21, 1821. The copy of the portion of the essay in Shelley's note-book occupies twenty-five pages, each page being distinguished in the present transcript by roman figures, I to XXIV, and a rider numbered XIA. The manuscript is beautifully and clearly written, and the pages which it occupies are fortunately among those that have escaped damage. One leaf, between pages XII and XIII, is missing, but the text, to preserve continuity, has been supplied in italics. One of the notes deleted by Hunt occurs in the manuscript on pages XIX and XX, and many variations are noted in the footnotes.]

Hence the fame of sculptors, painters, and musicians, although the intrinsic powers of the great masters of these arts may yield in no degree to that of those who have em-

ployed language as the hieroglyphic of their thoughts, has never equalled that of poets in the restricted sense of the term; as two [I [1]] performers of equal skill, will produce unequal effects from a guitar and a harp. The fame of legislators and founders of religions, so long as their institutions last,[2] alone seems to exceed that of poets [3] in the restricted sense; but it can scarcely be a question,[4] whether, if we deduct the celebrity which their flattery of the gross opinions of the vulgar usually conciliates, together with that which belonged to them in their higher character of poets, any excess [5] will remain.

We have thus circumscribed the meaning of the [6] word Poetry within the limits of that art which is the most familiar and the most perfect expression of the faculty itself. It is necessary, however, to make the circle still narrower, and to determine the distinction between measured and unmeasured language; for the popular division into prose and verse is inadmissible [II] in accurate philosophy. Sounds as well as thoughts have relation both [7] between each other and towards that which they represent, and a perception of the order of those relations has always been found connected with a perception of the order of the relations of [8] thoughts. Hence the language of poets has ever affected a certain uniform and harmonious recurrence of sound, without which it were not poetry, and which is scarcely less indispensable to the communication of its actions,[9] than the words themselves, without reference to that peculiar order. Hence the vanity of translation; [10] it were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from [III] its seed, or it will bear no flower—and this is the burthen of the curse of Babel.

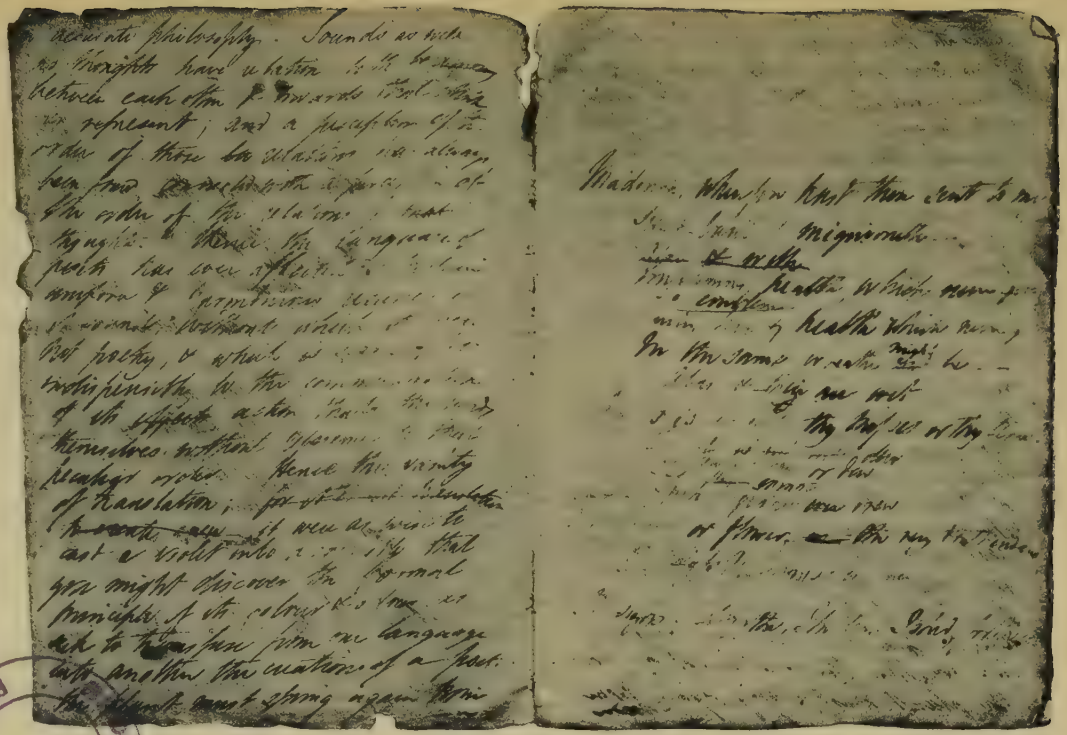
An observation of the regular mode of the recurrence of this [11] harmony in the language of poetical minds, together with its relation to music, produced metre, or a certain system of traditional forms of harmony and language. Yet it is by

[1] The first page of the MS. begins here.
[2] *remain* has been deleted.
[3] *who* inserted and deleted.
[4] *that* inserted and deleted.
[5] *would* deleted.
[6] *the meaning of the* inserted.
[7] *among* inserted and deleted.
[8] *that* deleted.
[9] *effects* cancelled and *actions* inserted.
[10] Shelley wrote here and cancelled *for it is not translation to create anew.*
[11] *this* inserted.

no means essential that a poet should accommodate his language to this traditional form, so that the harmony, which is its spirit, be observed. The practice is indeed convenient and popular, and to be preferred, especially in such composition as includes much form and [1] action: but every great poet must inevitably innovate upon the example of his predecessors in the exact structure of his peculiar versification. The distinction between poets and prose writers is a vulgar error. The distinction between [IV] philosophers and poets has been anticipated. Plato was essentially a poet—the truth and splendour of his imagery, and the melody of his language,[2] is the most intense that it is possible to conceive[3]: he rejected the measure of the epic, dramatic, and lyrical forms, because he sought to kindle a harmony in thoughts divested of shape and action, and he forebore to invent any regular plan of rhythm which should[4] include, under determinate forms, the varied pauses of his style. Cicero sought to imitate the cadence of his periods, but with little success. Lord Bacon was[5] a poet.* His language has a sweet and majestic rhythm, which satisfies the sense,[6] no less than the almost superhuman wisdom of his philosophy satisfies the intellect; it is a strain which[7] distends, and then bursts [V] the circumference of the hearer's[8] mind, and pours itself forth together with it into the universal element with which it has perpetual sympathy. All the[9] authors of revolutions in opinion are not only necessarily poets as they are inventors, nor even as their words unveil the[10] permanent analogy of things by images which participate in the life of truth; but as their periods are harmonious and rhythmical, and contain in themselves the elements of verse; being the echo of the eternal music. Nor are those supreme poets, who have employed traditional forms of rhythm on account of the form and action of their subjects, less capable of perceiving and teaching the truth of things, than those who have omitted that form. Shakespeare, Dante, and Milton (to confine ourselves to modern writers) are philo-[VI]-sophers of the very loftiest power.

* See the Filum Labyrinthi, and the Essay on Death particularly [Shelley's note].

[1] *form and* inserted.
[2] *is* in MS.
[3] *concieve* in MS. The sentence runs on in the MS.
[4] *should* in MS.
[5] Shelley began to write *essen*[*tially*], but cancelled the word.
[6] *and therefore* cancelled.
[7] *fills and* cancelled.
[8] *hearer's* in MS.
[9] *great* inserted and cancelled.
[10] *real* cancelled and *permanent* inserted.



DEFENCE OF POETRY. TO EMILIA VIVIANI.

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A Defence of Poetry

A poem is the [1] image of life expressed in its eternal truth. There is this difference between a story and a poem, that a story is a catalogue of detached facts, which have no other connection than time, place, circumstance, cause and effect; the other is the creation of actions according to the unchangeable forms of human nature, as existing in the mind of the Creator, which is itself the image of all other minds. The one is partial, and applies only to a definite [2] period of time, and a certain combination of events which can never again recur; the other is universal, and contains within itself the germ of a relation to whatever [3] motives or actions [4] have place in the possible varieties of human nature. Time, which destroys [5] the beauty and the use of the story [VII] of particular facts, stripped of the poetry which should invest them, augments that of poetry, and for ever develops new and wonderful applications of the eternal truth which it contains. Hence epitomes have been called the moths of just history; they eat out the poetry of it. The [6] story of particular facts is as a mirror which obscures and distorts that which should be beautiful: Poetry is a mirror which makes beautiful that which is distorted.

The parts of a composition may be poetical, without the composition as a whole being a poem. A single sentence may be considered as a whole, though it [7] be found in [8] a series of unassimilated portions; a single word even may be a spark of inextinguishable thought. And thus all the great historians, Herodotus, Plutarch, Livy, were poets; and although the plan of their works,[9] especially that [VIII] of Livy, restrained them from developing this faculty in its highest degree, they make [10] copious and ample amends for their subjection, by filling all the interstices of their subjects with living images.

Having determined what is poetry, and who are poets, let us proceed to estimate its effects upon society.

Poetry is ever accompanied with pleasure: all spirits on which it falls open themselves to receive the wisdom which is mingled with its delight. In the infancy of the world, neither poets themselves nor their auditors are fully aware

[1] *very* not in MS.
[2] *condition* inserted and cancelled.
[3] *thoughts* inserted and cancelled.
[4] *which* cancelled.
[5] *the value* cancelled.
[6] *The* in MS.
[7] *may not* in MS.
[8] *the midst of* not in MS.
[9] *their works* in MS.
[10] *make* in MS.

of the excellency [1] of poetry: for it acts in a divine and unapprehended manner, beyond and above consciousness; and it is reserved for future generations to contemplate and measure the mighty cause and effect in all the strength and splendour of their union. Even in modern times, no living [IX] poet ever arrived at the fulness of his fame; the jury which sits in judgment on [2] a poet, belonging as he does to all time, must be composed of his peers: [3] it must be impanneled by Time [4] from the selectest of the wise of many generations. A poet is a nightingale, who sits in darkness and sings to cheer its own solitude with sweet sounds; his auditors are as men entranced by the melody of [5] an unseen musician, who feel that they are moved and softened, yet know not whence or why. The poems of Homer and his contemporaries were the delight of infant Greece; they were the elements of that social system which [6] is the column upon which all succeeding civilisation has reposed. Homer embodied the ideal perfection of his age in human character; nor can we doubt that those [X] who read his verses were awakened to an ambition of becoming like to Achilles, Hector, and Ulysses: the truth and beauty of friendship, patriotism, and persevering devotion to an object, were unveiled to the depths in these immortal creations: the sentiments of the auditors must have been refined and enlarged by a sympathy with such great and lovely impersonations,[7] until from admiring they imitated, and from imitation they identified themselves with the objects of their admiration. Nor let it be objected, that these characters are remote from moral perfection, and that they can by no means be considered as edifying patterns for general imitation. Every epoch, under names more or less specious, has deified its peculiar [8] errors; Revenge is the naked idol of the worship of a semi-barbarous age; and Self-deceit is the veiled Image of unknown evil, [XI] before which [9] luxury and satiety lie prostrate. But a poet considers the vices of his contemporaries as the [10] temporary dress [in] [11] which his creations [12] must be arrayed, and which cover without concealing the eternal proportions of their beauty. An [13] epic or

[1] *excellency* in MS.
[2] *on* in MS.
[3] *and they* inserted and cancelled.
[4] *out* cancelled.
[5] *an invisible* cancelled.
[6] *was one of the* inserted and cancelled.
[7] A word inserted here and cancelled.
[8] *vices* inserted and cancelled.
[9] *the* cancelled.
[10] *peculiar* cancelled.
[11] *in* inserted and cancelled.
[12] *are to* cancelled.
[13] *poetical* cancelled.

dramatic personage is understood to wear them around his soul, as he may the ancient armour or the modern uniform around his body; whilst it is easy to conceive a dress more graceful than either. The beauty of the internal nature cannot be so far concealed by its accidental vesture, but that the spirit of its form shall communicate itself to the very disguise, and indicate the shape it hides from the manner in which it is worn. A majestic form and graceful motions will express themselves [1] through the most barbarous and tasteless costume. [XIa] Few poets of the highest class have chosen to [2] exhibit the beauty of their conceptions in its naked truth and splendour; and it is doubtful whether the alloy of costume, habit, etc., be not necessary to temper this planetary music for mortal ears.

The whole objection, however,[3] of the immorality of poetry rests upon a [XII] misconception of the manner in which poetry acts to produce the moral improvement of man. Ethical science arranges the elements which poetry has created, and propounds schemes and proposes examples of civil and domestic life: nor is it for want of admirable doctrines that men hate, and despise, and censure, and deceive, and subjugate one another. But poetry acts in another and diviner manner. It awakens and enlarges the mind itself by rendering it the receptacle of a thousand unapprehended combinations of thought. Poetry lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world, and makes familiar objects be as if they were not familiar; it reproduces all that it represents, and the impersonations clothed in its Elysian light stand thenceforward in the minds of those who have once contemplated them,[4] *as memorials of that gentle and exalted content which extends itself over all thoughts and actions with which it coexists. The great secret of morals is love; or a going out of our nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination; and poetry administers to the effect by acting upon the cause. Poetry enlarges the circumference of the imagination by replenishing it*

[1] *upon* cancelled.
[2] *paint* cancelled.
[3] *which* inserted and cancelled.
[4] A page is missing from the MS. here; the text, in italics, is supplied from Mrs. Shelley's version.

with thoughts of ever new delight, which have the power of attracting and assimilating to their own nature all other thoughts, and which form new intervals and interstices whose void for ever craves fresh food. [XIII] Poetry strengthens the faculty which is the organ of the moral nature of man, in the same manner as exercise strengthens a limb. A poet therefore would do ill to embody his own conceptions of [1] right and wrong, which are usually those of his place and time, in his poetical creations, which participate in neither. By this assumption of the inferior office of interpreting the effect, in which perhaps after all he might acquit himself but imperfectly, he would resign the [2] glory of [3] a participation in the cause. There was little danger that Homer, or any of the eternal Poets, should have so far misunderstood themselves as to have abdicated this throne of their widest dominion. Those in whom the poetical faculty, though great, is less intense, as Euripides, Lucan, Tasso, Spenser, have frequently affected a moral aim, and the effect of their [XIV] poetry is diminished but [4] in exact proportion to the degree in which they compel us to advert to this purpose.

Homer and the cyclic [5] poets were followed at a certain interval by the dramatic and lyrical Poets of Athens, who flourished contemporaneously with all that is most perfect in the kindred expressions of the poetical faculty; architecture, painting, music, the dance, sculpture, philosophy, and we may add, the forms of civil life. For although the scheme of Athenian society was deformed by many imperfections which the poetry existing in chivalry and Christianity have [6] erased from the habits and institutions of modern Europe; yet never at any other period has so much energy, beauty, and virtue been developed; never was blind strength and stubborn form so disciplined and rendered subject to the will of man, or that will [XV] less repugnant to the dictates of the beautiful and the true, as during the century which preceded the death of Socrates. Of no other epoch in the history of our species have we records and fragments stamped so visibly with the image of the divinity in man. But it is Poetry alone, in form, in action, or in language, which has rendered this epoch memorable above all others, and the storehouse of examples to everlasting time. For, written poetry

[1] *moral* deleted.
[2] *the* in MS.
[3] *of* in MS.
[4] *but* in MS.
[5] *and religion* deleted.
[6] *have* in MS.

existed at that epoch simultaneously with the other arts, and it is an idle enquiry [1] to demand which gave and which received the light, which all as from a common focus, have scattered over the darkest periods of succeeding age.[2] We know no more of cause and effect than a constant conjunction of [3] events. Poetry is ever found to coexist with whatever other arts contribute to the happiness and perfection of man. I appeal to what has [XVI] already been established to distinguish between the cause and the effect.

It was at the period here adverted to, that the Drama had its birth ; and however a succeeding writer may have equalled or surpassed those few great specimens of the Athenian drama which have been preserved to us, it is indisputable that the art itself never was understood or practised according to the true philosophy of it, as at Athens. For the Athenians employed language, action, music, painting, the dance, and religious institutions, to produce a common effect in the representation of the highest idealisms of passion and of power ; each division of [4] the art was made perfect in its kind by artists of the most consummate skill, and was disciplined into a beautiful proportion and unity [5] one towards the other. [XVII] On the modern stage a few only of the elements capable of expressing the image of the poet's conception are employed at once. We have tragedy without music and dancing ; and music and dancing without the high [6] impersonations of which they are the fit accompaniment, and both without religion and solemnity ; [7] religious institution has indeed been usually [8] banished from the stage. Our system of divesting the actor's face of a mask, on which the many expressions appropriated to [9] his dramatic character might [10] be moulded into one permanent and unchanging expression, is favourable only to a partial and inharmonious effect ; it is fit for nothing but a monologue, where all the attention may be directed to some great master of ideal mimicry. The modern practice of blending comedy with tragedy, though [XVIII] liable to great abuse in point of practise,[11] is undoubtedly an extension of the Dramatic circle ; but the comedy should be as in King Lear, universal, ideal, and sublime. It is

[1] *enquiry* in MS.
[2] *age* in MS.
[3] *certain* cancelled.
[4] *of* in MS.
[5] *among each other* inserted and cancelled.
[6] *high* in MS.
[7] The sentence runs on in the MS.
[8] *completely* inserted and cancelled.
[9] *the* deleted.
[10] *should is* deleted.
[11] *practise* in MS.

perhaps the intervention of this principle which determines the balance in favour of King Lear against the Œdipus Tyrannus or the Agamemnon, or, if you will, the trilogies with which they are connected; unless the [1] intense power of the choral poetry, especially that of the latter, should be considered as restoring the equilibrium. King Lear, if it can sustain this comparison, may be judged to be the most perfect specimen of the dramatic art existing in the world; in spite of the narrow conditions to which the poet was subjected by the ignorance of the philosophy of the drama [2] which has prevailed in modern Europe. Cal-[XIX]-deron, in his religious Autos, has [3] attempted to fulfil some of the high conditions of dramatic representation neglected by Shakespeare; such as the establishing a relation between the drama and religion, and the accommodating them to music and dancing; but he omits the observation of conditions still more important, and more is lost than gained by the substitution of the rigidly defined and ever-repeated idealisms of a distorted superstition for the living impersonations of the truth of human passion.

But we [4] digress.—[5] The Author of the 4 Ages of Poetry has prudently omitted to dispute on the effect of the Drama upon life and manners. For, if I know the Knight by the device of his shield, I have only to inscribe Philoctetes or Agamemnon or Othello upon mine to put to flight the giant sophisms [XX] which have enchanted them, as the mirror of intolerable light though on the arm of one of the weakest of the Paladins could blind and scatter whole armies of necromancers and pagans. The [6] connection of scenic exhibitions [7] with the improvement or corruption of the manners of men, has been universally recognised; in other words,[8] the presence or absence of poetry in its most perfect and universal form has been found to be connected with good and evil in conduct or habit. The corruption which has been imputed to the drama as an effect, begins, when the poetry employed in its constitution, ends: I appeal to the history of manners whether the gradations [9] of the growth of the one and the decline of the other have not corresponded with an exactness equal to any other [10] [XXI] example of moral cause and effect.

[1] *superior* cancelled. [2] *art* cancelled.
[3] *fulfilled in* cancelled. [4] *we* in MS.
[5] This paragraph, down to the word *pagans*, which had special reference to Peacock's essay on the "Four Ages of Poetry," was omitted by Mrs. Shelley when she first printed Shelley's *Defence*.
[6] *the effect of the* inserted and cancelled. [7] *in* deleted.
[8] *that* deleted. [9] *gradations* in MS. [10] *other* in MS.

A Defence of Poetry

The drama at Athens, or wheresoever else it may have approached to its perfection, ever coexisted with the moral and intellectual greatness of the age. The tragedies of the Athenian poets are as mirrors in which the spectator beholds himself, under a thin disguise of circumstance, stript of all but that ideal perfection and energy which every one feels to be the internal type of all that he Loves, admires, and would become. The imagination is enlarged by a sympathy with pains and passions so mighty, that they distend in their conception the capacity of that by which they are conceived; the good affections are strengthened by pity, indignation, terror and sorrow; and an exalted calm is prolonged from the satiety of this high exercise of them into [XXII] the tumult of familiar life: even crime is [1] disarmed of half its horror and all its contagion by being represented as the fatal consequence of the unfathomable agencies of nature; error is thus divested of its wilfulness; [2] men can no longer cherish it as the creation of their choice: in a drama of the highest order there is little food for censure or hatred; it teaches rather self-knowledge and self-respect. Neither the eye nor the mind can see itself, unless reflected upon that which it resembles. The drama, so long as it continues to express poetry, is as a prismatic and many-sided mirror, which collects the brightest rays of human nature and [3] divides and reproduces them from the simplicity of these elementary forms, and touches them with majesty and beauty, and multiplies all that it reflects, and endows it with the power of [XXIII] propagating its like wherever it may fall.

But in periods of the decay of the [4] social life, the drama sympathises with that decay. Tragedy becomes a cold imitation of the form of the great masterpieces of antiquity, divested of all harmonious accompaniment of the kindred arts; and often the very form misunderstood, or a weak attempt to teach certain doctrines, which the writer considers as moral truths; and which are usually no more than specious flatteries of some gross vice or weakness, with which the author, in common with his auditors, are infected. Hence what has been called the classical and domestic drama. Addison's Cato is a specimen of the one; and would it were not superfluous to cite examples of the other! To such purposes poetry cannot be made subservient. Poetry [XXIV]

[1] *divested* deleted. [2] The sentence runs on.
[3] *and divides them* deleted; *and divides* written again. [4] *the* in MS.

is a sword of lightning, ever unsheathed, which consumes the scabbard that would contain it. And thus we observe that all dramatic writings of this nature are unimaginative in a singular degree; they affect sentiment and passion, which, divested of imagination, are other names for caprice and appetite. The period[1] in our own history of the grossest degradation of the drama is the reign of Charles II., when all forms in which poetry had been accustomed to be expressed became hymns to the triumph of kingly power over liberty and virtue. Milton stood alone illuminating an age unworthy of him.

"ADONAIS"

[Shelley employed himself, at Pisa, during the months of May and June 1821, in writing *Adonais*. In a letter to his friends the Gisbornes, written early in June, he says: "I have been engaged these last days in composing a poem on the death of Keats, which will shortly be finished; and I anticipate the pleasure of reading it to you, as some of the very few persons who will be interested in it and understand it. It is a highly-wrought *piece of art*, and perhaps better in point of composition, than anything I have written." That he ranked the poem highly we may gather, as he also told Miss Clairmont, in a letter of June 8, that it was better than anything that he had written, and "worthy both of him [Keats] and of me." On the same date he informed Ollier, his publisher, that he had finished the poem, and that it consisted of about forty Spenser stanzas, which were to be preceded by a criticism on *Hyperion*. Shelley did not fulfil his intention of writing this criticism or of publishing the poem in London, but sent the MS. on June 16 to press at Pisa, where it was printed handsomely "with the types of Didot." On July 13 he presented a copy, the only one that had been delivered, to John and Maria Gisborne.

The notes for the preface that follow occupy fourteen pages of the note-book, and in the transcript I have numbered them with Roman figures. A few passages were printed in *The Relics of Shelley*, 1862, by Dr. Richard Garnett, who adopted his own arrangement. None of the cancelled fragments of

[1] *of* cancelled.

Preface to "Adonais"

Adonais printed in the same volume by Dr. Garnett were derived from the present manuscript. The following early draft of the poem, which is now printed for the first time, is not only interesting as showing the steps by which Shelley built up his elegy, but as revealing here and there passages worthy of preservation. One page, marked XVII in the fascimile, and a few lines on other pages of the MS. I have failed to decipher. Most of the pages bearing these notes for the poem are in a very imperfect and damaged condition. The text of each stanza as printed by Shelley is given in italics.]

SHELLEY'S PREFACE TO "ADONAIS"

[I] No personal offence should have drawn from me this public comment upon such stuff as . . .

Keats came to Italy . . . I knew personally but little of Keats having met him two or three [? times] at my friend Hunt's, but on the news of his situation I wrote to him suggesting the propriety of trying the Italian climate and inviting him to join me. His answer to my letter was . . . Unfortunately he did not allow me . . .

Since however this notice has been [II] wrested from me [? by] indignation and [sympathy] my pity I will allow myself a first and last word on the subject of calumny as it relates to me [and now all further public discussions must be closed]. As an author I have dared and invited censure; [my opinions] if I understand myself I have written neither for profit nor fame. I have [sought to erect a sympathy between my species and myself] employed my poetical compositions and publications simply as the instruments of that sympathy between myself and others which the ardent and unbounded love I [felt] cherished for my kind incited me to acquire. I expected all sorts of stupidity and insolent contempt from these . . .

[III] These compositions (excepting the tragedy of the *Cenci* which was written in a hurry rather to try my powers than to unburden my full heart) are [wretchedly inadequate] insufficiently . . .

[IV] . . . commendation than perhaps they deserve; even from their bitterest enemies; but they have not attained any corresponding popularity. As a man, I shrink from notice and regard; the cea[seless] ebb and flow of the world vexes me; My habits are simple I know. I desire to be left in peace. I have been the victim of a monstrous and unheard

of tyranny. I am the victim of a despotic power which has violated in my home the rights of nature and has [V] stooped into the region where such as hell-[. . .] [animal] a slave can breathe. I think it necessary to hang out a bloody flag where the tyger [. . .] has made his meal of Liberty.

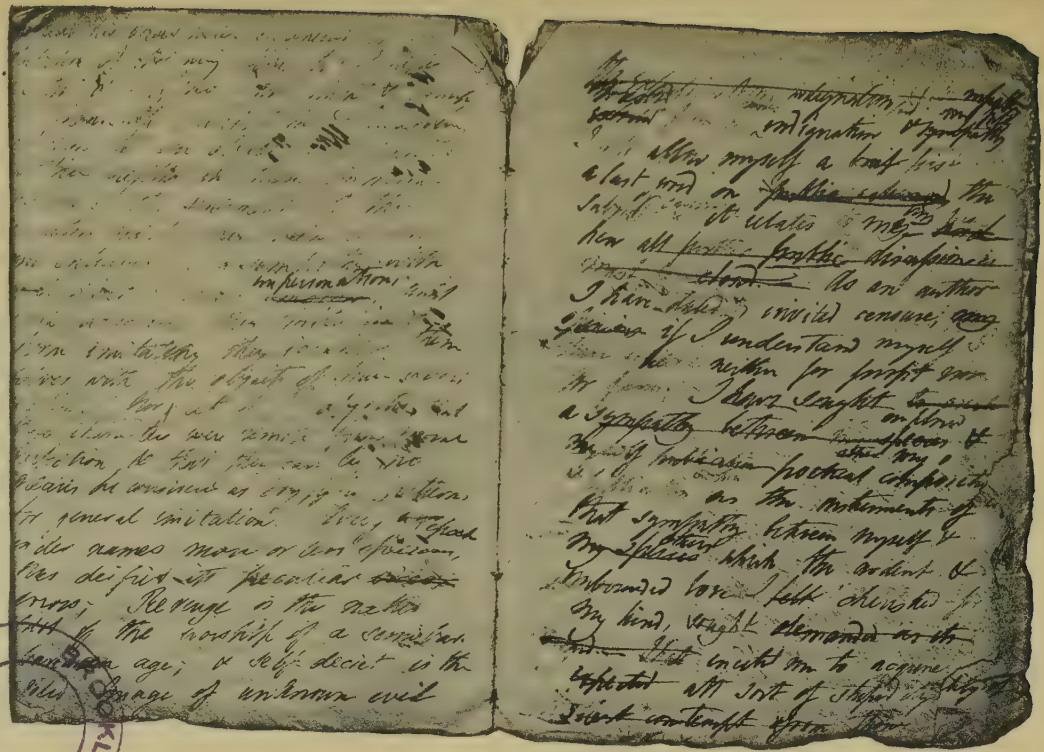
Reviewers, with some rare exceptions are in general a most stupid and malignant race; as a bankrupt thief turns thief-taker in despair; so an unsuccessful Author turns Critic and punishes others of that . . .

There are honest and honorable men among Reviewers no doubt, but these will be foremost . . .

[VI] The shaft which this Parthian shot, fell on a heart [cased in] made callous by many blows, but poor Keats's was composed of more penetrable stuff.—The *Endymion* was a poem in which a critic will find indeed much to condemn, but was there nothing to applaud? Were there no traces of a sublime genius mingled with errors of taste and obscurity of purpose? Could the critics who found the Revd. Mr. Somebody's *Paris* sublime because it flattered their masters, and who wrote with complacence of Mr. Gatty [VII] Knight's *Syrian Tale*—because it was published at Murray's who printed Mr. Milman's drama of *Jerusalem* a mere well-written imitation of [Kehama] Southey, and the everlasting poetry of Lord Byron that they—who talk with patience of such drivelling as *Brutus* and *Evadne*—could they find nothing to commend in the *Endymion*? At what gnat did they strain here, after having swallowed all those camels? Mr. Southey and Mr. Gifford well know what true poetry is; Mr. Southey, especially, who has edited the remains of Kirke White, knows; they could not have been mistaken with respect to the indications afforded by portions of this poem of such astonishing descriptive power which they will have observed in the *Hyperion*. Surely such [VIII] men as these hold their repute cheap in permitting to their subordinate associates so great a licence, not of praise which can do little mischief, but of censure which may destroy —and has destroyed one of the noblest specimens of the workmanship of God. It shall be no excuse to the murderer that he has spoken daggers but used none.

The offence of this poor victim seems to have consisted solely in his intimacy with Leigh Hunt, Mr. Hazlitt and some others of the enemies of despotism and superstition. My friend Hunt has a very hard skull to crack, and would take a deal of killing. I do not know much of Mr. Hazlitt, but . . .

[IX] [Mr.] Keats was the chosen intimate of [Hunt] Leigh



DEFENCE OF POETRY.

PREFACE TO ADONAIS.

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Hunt and Mr. Hazlitt and other enemies of despotism and superstition. The *Quarterly Review* has . . .

Mr. Gifford I believe . . . learned . . .

The Editor of this *Quarterly Review* in particular amongst [many persons] of the most splendid accomplishments and the most honourable minds certainly has in his employment the most malignant and accomplished slanderers. But I should have hated him had he ventured on any . . . insinuation that ever prostituted his soul for twenty pounds per sheet.

[X] The bigot will say it was the recompense of my errors, the man of the world will call it the result of my imprudence [but never was calumny heaped in so profuse a measure upon any head as upon mine]. Persecution, contumely and calumny have been heaped upon me in profuse measure. I have [been made the victim of a tyranny . . .] domestic conspiracy and legal oppression combined have violated in my person the most sacred rights of nature and humanity, . . . [my health . . .] and the chastening of my spirit.

[XI] The scheme of such writers is to extinguish . . .

But in the present instance the merits and the demerits, the truth and falsehood of the case were [so carefully entangled . . .] But a young mind panting after fame is the most vulnerable prey: he is armed neither with philosophy . . .

[But let it be considered that an animat[ed ?] But a young spirit panting for fame, doubtful of its own powers and certain only of its aspirations, is but ill [qualified] fitted to assign its true value to the sneers of this world.

[XII] [The *Endymion* merited . . .]

[His happiness is in the present.]

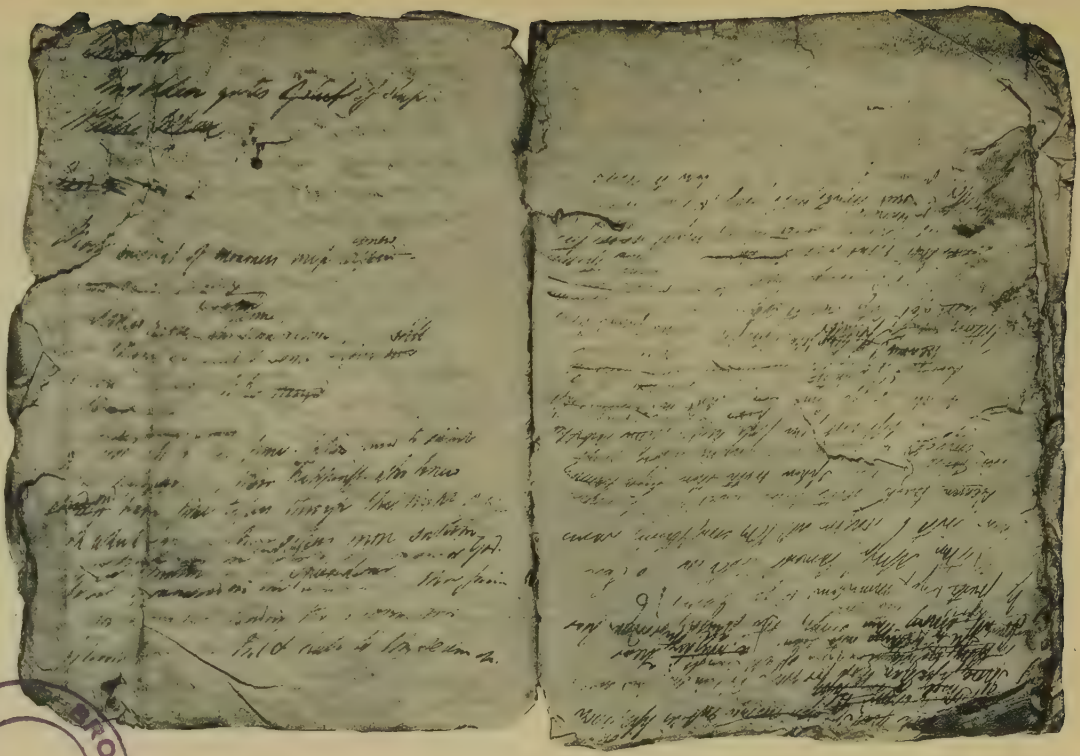
He knows not that such stuff as this is of the abortive and monstrous Births which Time consumes as fast as it produces. He sees the truth and falsehood, the merits and demerits of his case inextricably entangled.

[XIII] It may well be said that these wretched men know not what they do. These midwives of the dross and abortions which time consumes as fast as it produces: scatter their insults and their slanders without heed as to whether they light on a heart made callous by many blows or on one like Keats's composed of more penctrable stuff. One of them to my knowledge is . . .

Was *Endymion* a poem whatever might be its defects to be spoken of contemptuously by those who had celebrated with various degrees of complacency and panegyric *Paris* and

Woman and a *Syrian Tale*, and Mrs. Lefanu and Mr. Barrett and Mr. Milman ?

[XIV] What gnat did they strain at here after having swallowed all these camels ? What is the woman taken in adultery against whom the foremost of these literary prostitutes has cast his venal stone ? Miserable man, [thou] you who art one of the meanest have destroyed one of the noblest specimens of the workmanship of God. Nor shall it be your excuse that [you have] murderer as you are, you have spoken daggers but used none.



ADONAIS.

V. XXI.

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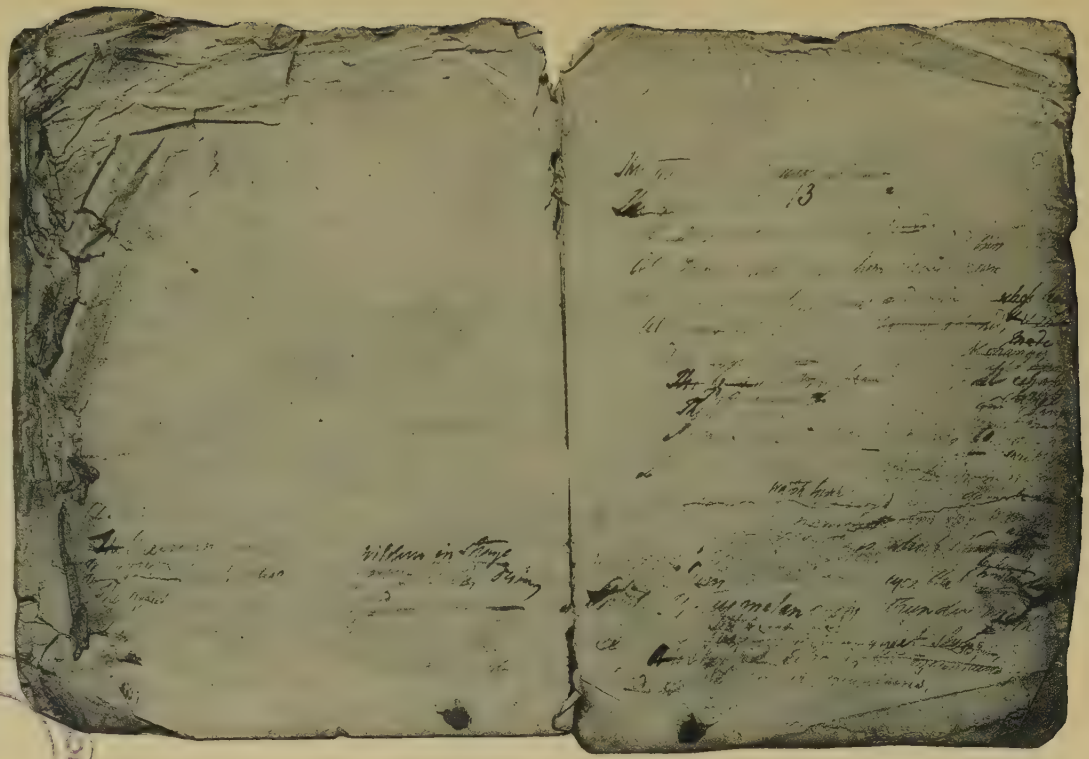

ADONAIS.

XIV. XIV.

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v

Most musical of mourners weep [again] anew
[Athens arose: and some whom]
[Many are dead, and some living now] [still]
[When soaring like winged]
[Like winged stars]
Not all to that pure station dared to climb
And happier they their happiness who knew
And burn like tapers through that night of time
In which suns perished others more sublime
Struck by the envious wrath of man or God
[Have withered in their splendour]
Most perished in the refulgence of their prime
And others live, treading the thorny road
Which leads through toil and hate to thy serene
abode.

v

Most musical of mourners, weep anew!
Not all to that bright station dared to climb:
And happier they their happiness who knew,
Whose tapers yet burn through that night of time
In which suns perished; others more sublime,
Struck by the envious wrath of man or God,
Have sunk, extinct in their refulgent prime;
And some yet live, treading the thorny road,
Which leads, through toil and hate, to Fame's
serene abode.

xiv*a* [1]

The grey

13

[All things that Adonais loved]
[All things that loved him living moan]
[All things that were which living]
All things he [that he adored and made
and changed]
From shape and hue and odour and sweet
sound
Lamented Adonais. Morning sought
[A cavern of grey stone] Watch-tower

Dimmed aerial eyes that kindled day
[Flash] The melancholy thunder moaned
unquiet slumbers
And they Echo, in the mountains.

xiv*b* [2]

[The] Pale Ocean in inquiet slumber lay
The [sobbing] wintery winds flew round [wilder
in strange] sobbing in their dismay.

xiv

All he had loved, and moulded into thought
From shape, and hue, and odour, and sweet sound,
Lamented Adonais. Morning sought
Her eastern watch-tower, and her hair unbound,
Wet with the tears which should adorn the ground,
Dimmed the aerial eyes that kindle day;
Afar the melancholy thunder moaned,
Pale Ocean in unquiet slumber lay,
And the wild winds flew around, sobbing in their
dismay.

[1] In pencil, corrected with ink. [2] Note by Shelley in pencil on this page: "Mr. Severn's dying [ ] of the highest."

xv

Sits mute or seeks the voice whose
[Gathers . . . Droops into]

15

[She wanders, in the desarts o'er [through]
Lost Echo [sometimes wanders] sits among the voice . . .
[now wanders among the]
And feeds her grief [silence] with his
And will no more reply to [ ] winds or
Or [ ] amorous birds perched on the [swing] young
Or herdsmans horn or bell at closing day
[Nor ever she] For she can mimic not the lips more dear
Than his, for whom her pined away
[They Your they cannot answer thee.

xv

Lost Echo sits amid the voiceless mountains,
And feeds her grief with his remembered lay,
And will no more reply to winds or fountains,
Or amorous birds perched on the young green spray,
Or herdsman's horn, or bell at closing day ;
Since she can mimic not his lips, more dear
Than those for whose disdain they pined away
Into a shadow of all sounds ;—a drear
Murmur, between their songs, is all the woodmen hear.

xvi [1]

wild and she threw down
Autumn were
Or thy her delight is flown
have waked the sullen year

To Phœbus was not Hyacinth so dear
Nor to himself Narcissus, as to both
Thou Adonais ; wan they stand

xvi*b*

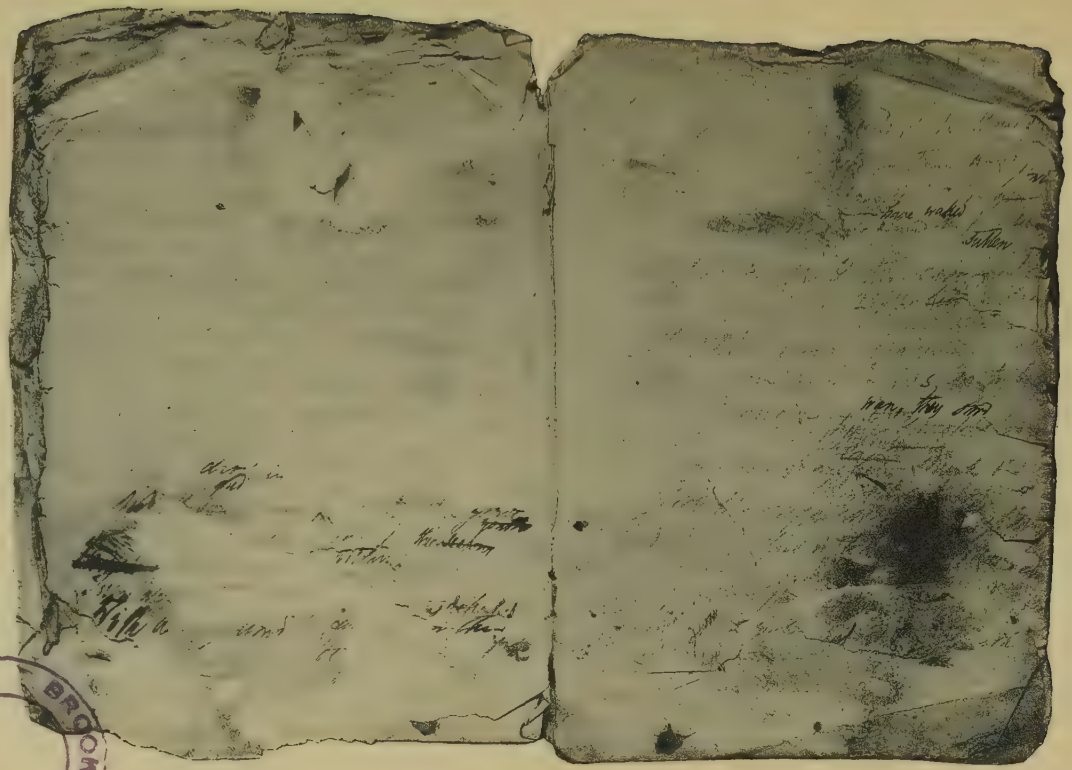
With [sweet] drooping glad flowers of her youth
that in their [season]

Turn departed
With dew all turned to tears in their youth.

xvi

Grief made the young Spring wild, and she threw down
Her kindling buds, as if she Autumn were,
Or they dead leaves ; since her delight is flown,
For whom should she have waked the sullen year ?
To Phœbus was not Hyacinth so dear,
Nor to himself Narcissus, as to both
Thou Adonais ; wan they stand and sere
Amid the faint companions of their youth,
With dew all turned to tears ; odour, to sighing ruth.

[1] In pencil.



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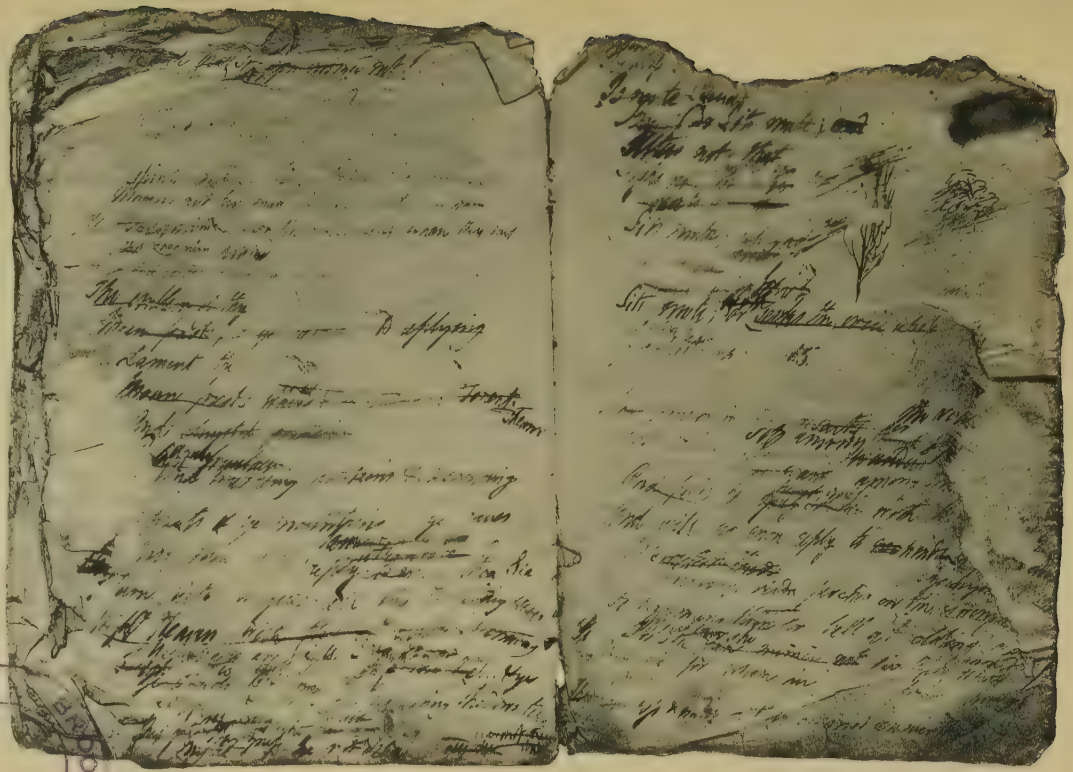

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ADONAIS.

XVII.

XV.

xvii*a*

This spirit's sister, the lorn nightingale
Mourns not her mate with such melodious pain
answered, eagles when they sail

The emblem of thy
Moan frosts, and ye caverns old uplying
Lament the
Moan forests waves [caves] and mountains:
torrent streams
And chrystal fountains
And whispering fountains and resounding]
Spirits and ye mountains and ye caves
And thou Abyss, lament with me and
voice
reply to me thou Sea
Turn into tongues all thy lamenting waves
High Heaven with that harmony
Ye and Winds harmony
sphere answer me . . . and ye
Tempests and clouds and wandering shadows tell
the air

xvii*b*

Emblems of the
Not so the eagles soaring when they
Not so the eagle who like thee could scale
Heaven and could [feed within] nourish in the
sun's domain
His mighty youth with lightning doth complain
Screaming and sailing round her empty nest
As Albion wails for thee
Light on his head who
And scared the angel soul that . . . earthly

xvii

Thy spirit's sister, the lorn nightingale,
Mourns not her mate with such melodious pain;
Not so the eagle, who like thee could scale
Heaven, and could nourish in the sun's domain
Her mighty youth, with morning doth complain,
Soaring and screaming round her empty nest,
As Albion wails for thee: the curse of Cain
Light on his head who pierced thy innocent breast,
And scared the angel soul that was its earthly guest!

XVIII

[Alas] What [gentle song] silver verse is what
gentle form
Fresh leaves and flowers deck
[Anemones and bluebells strew]
The birds appear
The swallow [too returns] builds his nest

XVIII

Ah woe is me! Winter is come and gone,
But grief returns with the revolving year;
The airs and streams renew their joyous tone;
The ants, the bees, the swallows, re-appear;
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead Seasons'
bier;
The amorous birds now pair in every brake,
And build their mossy homes in field and brere;
And the green lizard, and the golden snake,
Like unimprisoned flames, out of their trance awake.

678

XVIII AND XIX*a*

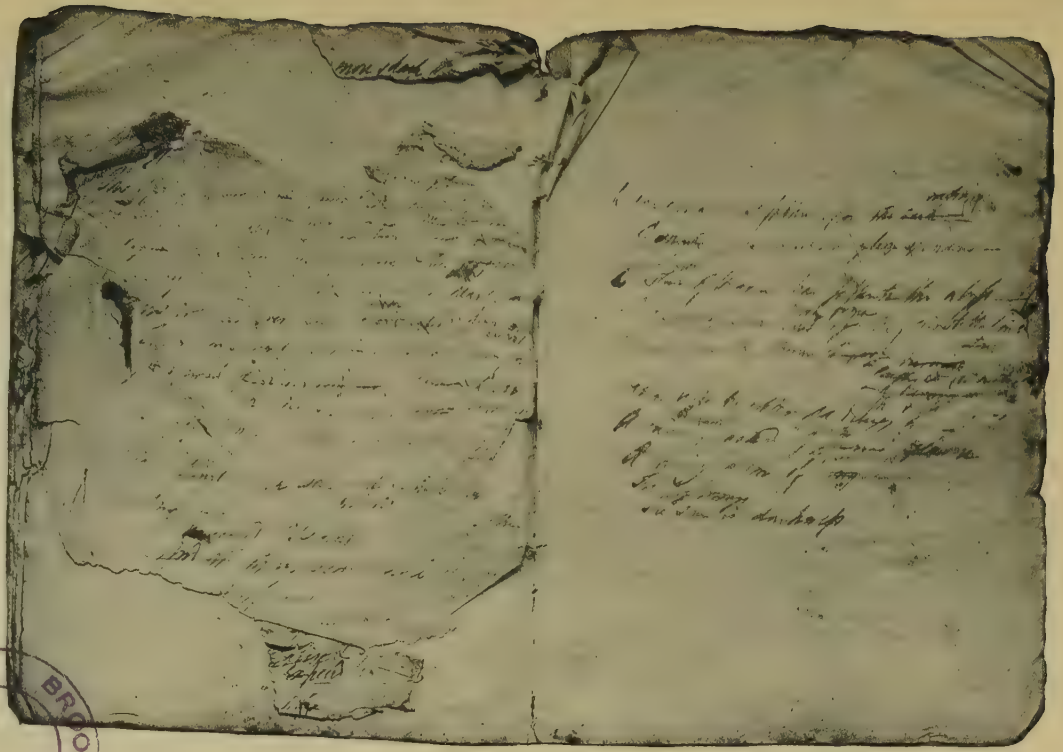
The spring is come: the spirit rock
and stream and mountain cloud and rock
[Upon the stream the mountains and the
meadow]
A quickening life from the Earth's heart has
As it has ever done,
From the great morning of the world when first
God dawned [upon the Universe vapour] on
Chaos: in its [light] stream immersed
The softer lamps of Heaven flash with
[things drink love and satiate the]
[And lie. Of moated life and]
[And all things dead satiate]

XIX*b*

Alas the spring is come gone! [fled]
[The mountains woods]
[Again the hills wears]
[The hills and meadows]
[The mountains adorn again]
[The quickening hath]
[Since [God, morning [with his
smile] dawned]
[first morning through the]
[God dawned the universe]
The streams, the meadows and the
quickening [spirit] presence as
Since [in] the great morning of the
God dawned upon
[Burns with with it, Earth]
things that start with life]
stars]

XIX

Through wood and stream and field and hill and
Ocean,
A quickening life from the Earth's heart has burst,
As it has ever done, with change and motion,
From the great morning of the world when first
God dawned on Chaos; in its stream immersed,
The lamps of Heaven flash with a softer light;
All baser things pant with life's sacred thirst;
Diffuse themselves; and spend in love's delight,
The beauty and the joy of their renewèd might.



ADONAIS.

XIX.

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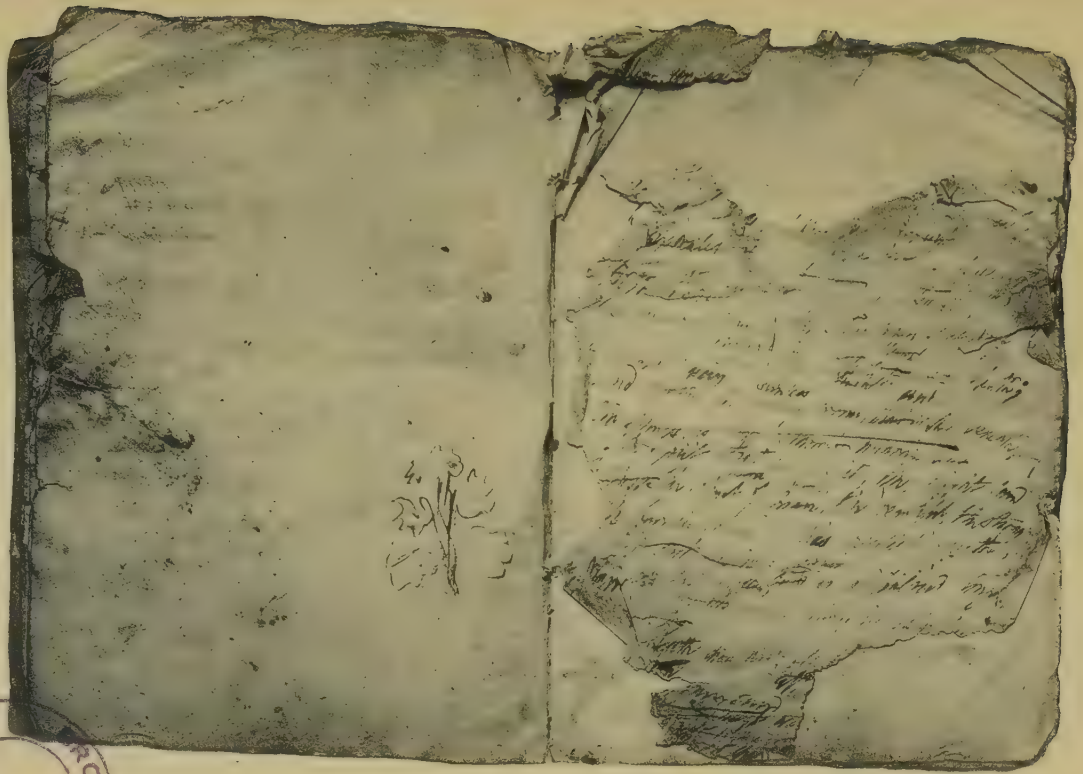

ADONAIS.

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xx

[Exhales]
Like incarnations of the stars when splendour
Is changed to [ ] fragrance they [ ]
illumine death.
very sunless
And mock the merry worm that wakes beneath
[And smile as the
The spirit that it, the bright sword
the spirit of man the beautiful the
strong,
The burning sword of this neglected sheath

xx

The leprous corpse touched by this spirit tender,
Exhales itself in flowers of gentle breath ;
Like incarnations of the stars, when splendour
Is changed to fragrance, they illumine death,
And mock the merry worm that wakes beneath ;
Nought we know dies. Shall that alone which knows
Be as a sword consumed before the sheath
By sightless lightning ? th' intense atom glows
A moment, then is quenched in a most cold repose.

xxi

Than those for whose disdain she pined away
Shadow of all sounds :
Withers into silence a whisper drear
among their songs the passing hear
Ye [forests] woods and ye eternal mountains and
ye brooks
And the Abyss lament with me O Sea
Turn into tongues all thy complaining waves
[Heaven teach with thine inaudible harmony]
This this sphere with their high harmony]
and chords all wandering airs a plaint
lift not your pale hearts from herb and tree
Let the fruit [fall] die and [ ] from
my despair O ye
[Despair Spectators he is dead
[Heaven O witness] who witness it
[And] Let city call to city—Woe is me
[Let hoar] Winter hoar

Let evening usher night, night [wake] urge the
morrow
Month waken month with grief, and year wake
year to sorrow
follow

xxi

Alas ! that all we loved of him should be,
But for our grief, as if it had not been,
And grief itself be mortal ! Woe is me !
Whence are we, and why are we ? of what scene
The actors or spectators ? Great and mean
Meet massed in death, who lends what life must borrow.
As long as skies are blue, and fields are green,
Evening must usher night, night urge the morrow,
Month follow month with woe, and year wake year to sorrow.

XXIII*a*

The golden day . . . borne on golden wings
Even as a ghost abandoning the bier
Has left the Earth a corpse . . . the [she . . .
mourning

22

She rose like an autumnal Night, that springs
Out of the east and follows wild and drear
The golden Day which on eternal wings
Even as a ghost abandoning a bier
Has left [the] her Earth a corpse
[Darkness around her sped]
[Saddens around her path]
[Gathered Darkness]
[Darkened around . . . so struck]

XXIII*b*

She rose, [like the] as the Autumnal night
Out of the east following swift
Follows wild it grew
Following the golden day whose rapid wings
of the sun whose
Have left the earth a corpse
Following the [rapid] golden day, whose
Even [like] as a ghost abandoning the bier
life

Leave though blind
It tosses with the speed of wind and clouds
Lightnings and rain shapeless morn sickens

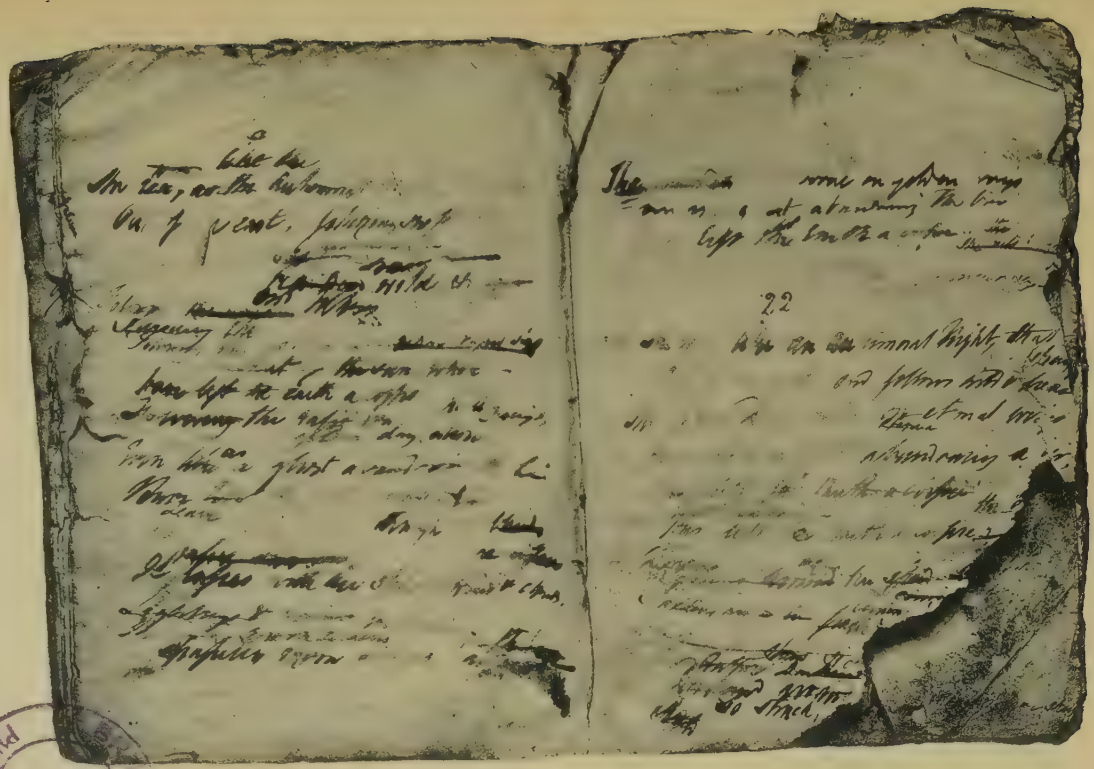
XXIII*c*

So saddened round her like an atmosphere
Of misty
darkness
storm of darkness obscured
A paling mist so swept her on her way
Even to the

hair was heavy with
her silken hair hung heavy

XXIII

She rose like an autumnal Night, that springs
Out of the East, and follows wild and drear
The golden Day, which, on eternal wings,
Even as a ghost abandoning a bier,
Has left the Earth a corpse. Sorrow and fear
So struck, so roused, so rapt, Urania,
So saddened round her like an atmosphere
Of stormy mist; so swept her on her way,
Even to the mournful place where Adonais lay.



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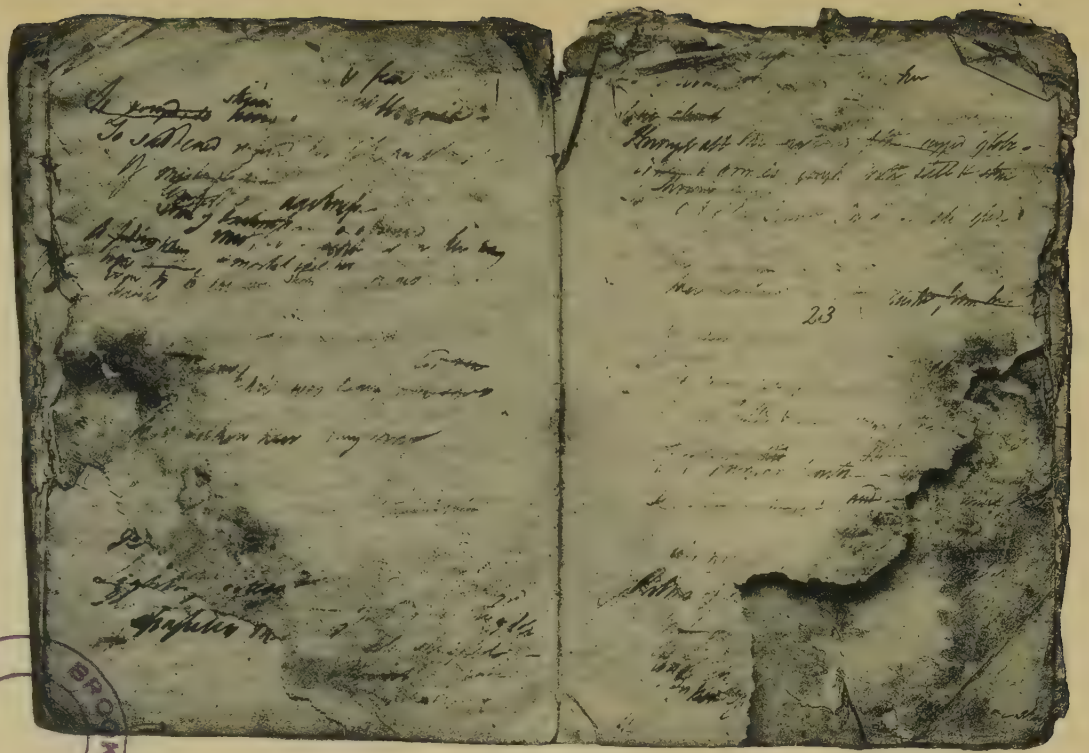

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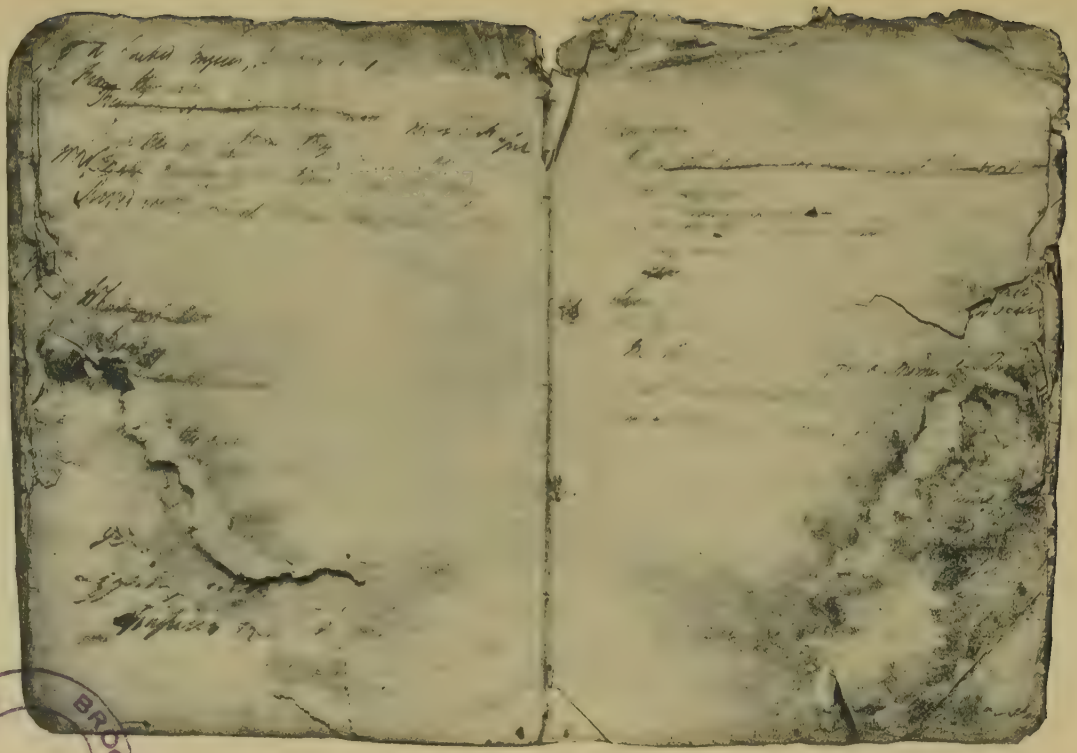
ADONAIS.

XXIII. XXIV.



ADONAIS.

XXIV. XXV.

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XXIV*a*

Through all the nations of the rugged globe
Cities and armies, camp with steel and stone
[Through]
Out of the silent Paradise she sped
Her flashing
Her hair like [clouds] mists from her

23

She [rose] sped into
Through Darkness swept
She came out of her
Through [fields] camps and cities rough with
And human hearts

Yielding not, wounded
Palms of

XXIV*b*

And barbed tongues, and thoughts
[From the soft]
[Rent her soft limbs, like poison]
Rent her soft [ ] form they never could repel
Whose [ ] sacred blood like the young
tears in May
Paved with eternal flowers that undeserving way.

XXIV

Out of her secret Paradise she sped,
Through camps and cities rough with stone, and steel,
And human hearts, which to her aery tread
Yielding not, wounded the invisible
Palms of her tender feet where'er they fell ;
And barbed tongues, and thoughts more sharp than they
Rent the soft Form they never could repel,
Whose sacred blood, like the young tears of May,
Paved with eternal flowers that undeserving way.

XXV

[He is not dead . . . she said and with the word]

In the death chamber for a moment Death
Death
And art thou dead cried

XXV

In the death-chamber for a moment Death,
Shamed by the presence of that living Might,
Blushed to annihilation, and the breath
Revisited those lips, and life's pale light
Flashed through those limbs, so late her dear delight.
" Leave me not wild and drear and comfortless,
As silent lightning leaves the starless night !
Leave me not ! " cried Urania : her distress
Roused Death : Death rose and smiled, and met her vain caress.

xxx*a*

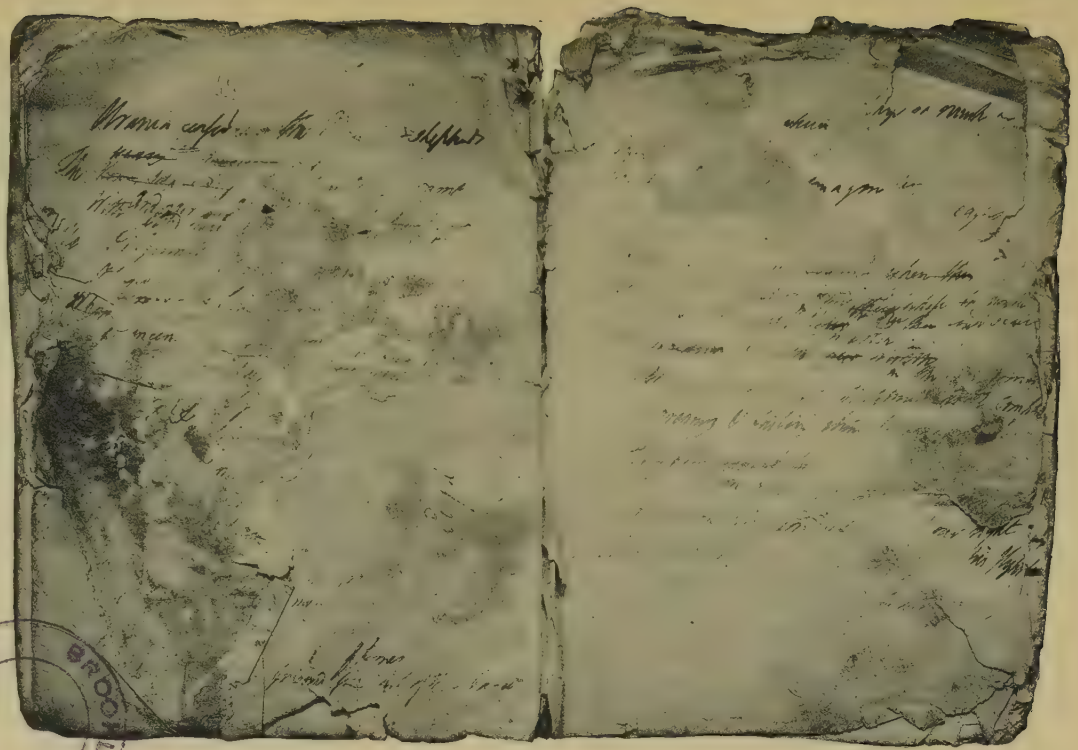
Urania ceased . . . the mountain shepherds
[weary music]
The [weary] Shepherds of the mountains came
their garlands sere their magic
The Pilgrim of Eternity, whose fame
round them like a monument]
like a bent
living head like Heaven is bent
thy best eternal monument
veiling all the lightning[s] of his song
sorrow her wilds Ierne [even] sent
lyrist of her saddest wrong
like music from his tongue

xxx*b*

poisoned [fire] flame out of the trance

xxx

Thus ceased she : and the mountain shepherds came,
Their garlands seve, their magic mantles rent ;
The Pilgrim of Eternity, whose fame
Over his living head like Heaven is bent,
An early but enduring monument,
Came, veiling all the lightnings of his song
In sorrow ; from her wilds Ierne sent
The sweetest lyrist of her saddest wrong,
And love taught grief to fall like music from his tongue.



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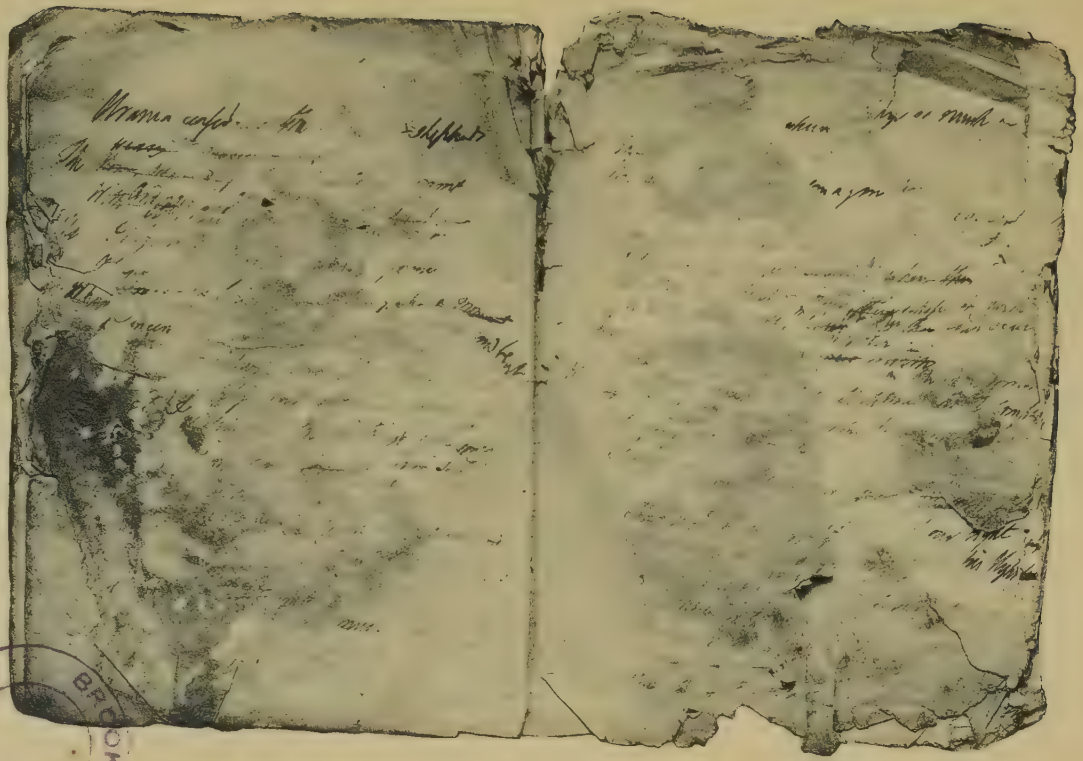
ADONAIS.

XXX. XVII.



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ADONAIS.

XXX. XVII.

XL*a*

He is at . . . he wakes, he is . . .
[He has escaped out . . . pit of worms]
His spirit soon its silken cradle
And left that
the naked world
[He dreams no more . . .]
From
His spirit soon its silken
From envy
His spirit soon its ? twilight cradle wove of light
And let the thoughts which wove its
To clothe the [naked] frozen world with
He has outsoared the shadow of our night
And left in panting behind his flight
Envy and Calumny.

XL*b*

He has outsoared the shadow of our night
Envy and calumny and hate and pain
And that unrest which men miscall delight
[And long after]
Can touch him not and torture not again
[slow growth of the cold leprous]
From the contagion of the worlds stain
He is secure, and now [can] will never
A heart grown cold, a head grown grey in vain
Nor, when the spirit's self has ceased to burn
[His] With sparkless ashes [heap fill] load an
unlamented urn !

XL

He has outsoared the shadow of our night ;
Envy and calumny, and hate and pain,
And that unrest which men miscall delight,
Can touch him not and torture not again ;
From the contagion of the world's slow stain
He is secure, and now can never mourn
A heart grown cold, a head grown grey in vain ;
Nor, when the spirit's self has ceased to burn,
With sparkless ashes load an unlamented urn.

XLI*a*

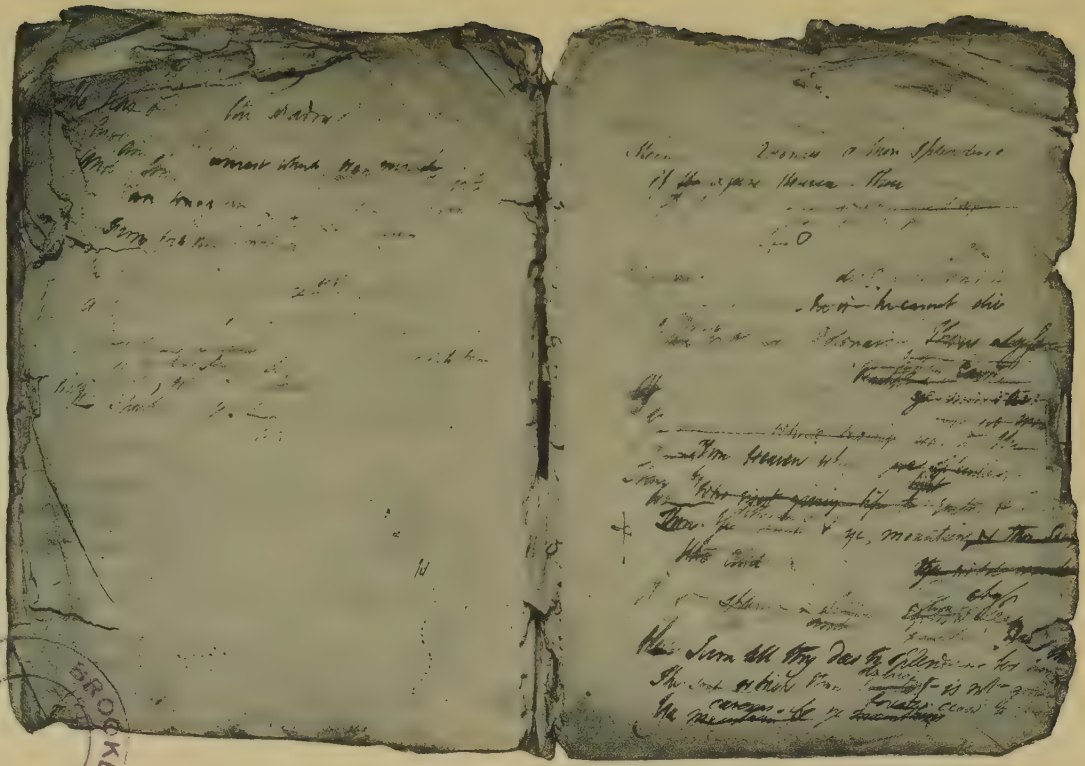
Weep
Mourn not for Adonais. O thou splendour
[Of the azure Heaven—thou]
Of Heaven [azure-green and azure] sea :
? thou

40

[He is] tis death indeed not he
he wakes—[he is—he cannot die]
[Weep] Mourn not for Adonais—[Thou abyss]
beautiful caverns ye
weep no more]
[Ye ministers whose business was to fly]
[From Heaven whose azure splendour]
[Thou] [Who visit giving life to Earth and Sea ;
Thou with all thy power
[Ye forests, and ye mountains and thou sea
[And the wild wonder] [abyss]
[Of azure splendour in and Earth]
Thou young Dawn
[Weep] Turn all thy dews to splendour—for
from thee
The [soul which] spirit thou lamentest is not gone
Ye [mountains] caverns and ye [mountains]
forests cease to moan

XLI

He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he ;
Mourn not for Adonais.—Thou young Dawn,
Turn all thy dew to splendour, for from thee
The spirit thou lamentest is not gone ;
Ye caverns and ye forests, cease to moan !
Cease ye faint flowers and fountains, and thou Air
Which like a morning veil thy scarf hadst thrown
O'er the abandoned Earth, now leave it bare
Even to the joyous stars which smile on its despair !



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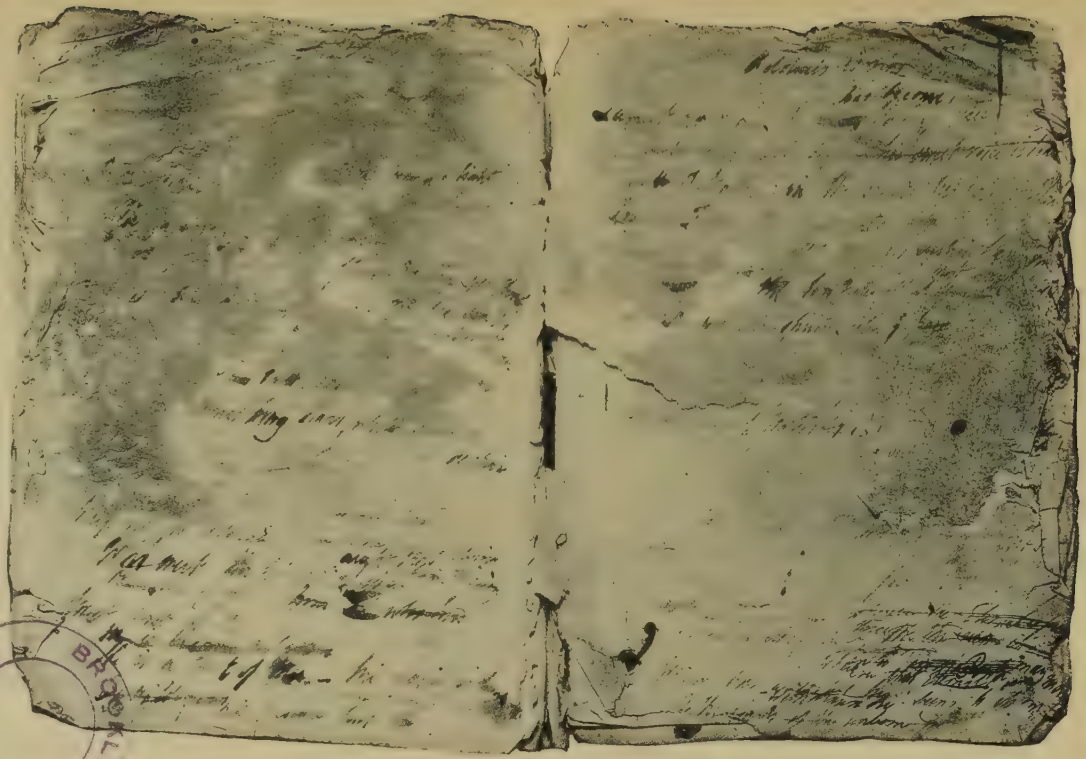
ADONAIS.

XL. XLI.



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ADONAIS.

XLI. XLII.

XLI*b* AND XLII*a*

flowers and thou soft
thou sad Air
mourning veil thy scarf hadst thrown
sad earth bare
eternal living stars, which smile on its
despair !

will [be not heard]
Weep not for Adonais [thou lone bird]
Who wert his spirit's sister aught that [living]
dying
[One note of grief from him who loved]
Sweet poet of the
[He is become a . . .]
He is a part of thee—his voice is music
[Wildernesses]
his presence may be felt and known

XLII*b*

Adonais is
Lament no more he has become part of thee
[O world that loved him his sweet voice is heard]
O Nature ; in thy sounds his sweet voice is heard
Which was his spirit's sister
part of Nature's
wherever the Eternal
Spreading itself where'er that [Eternal] Power
may move
Which has [absorbed his] withdrawn his being
to its own
the spirits of the unborn

XLII

He is made one with Nature : there is heard
His voice in all her music, from the moan
Of thunder, to the song of night's sweet bird ;
He is a presence to be felt and known
In darkness and in light, from herb and stone,
Spreading itself where'er that Power may move
Which has withdrawn his being to its own ;
Which wields the world with never wearied love,
Sustains it from beneath, and kindles it above.

XLIIc or XLIIIa

He is a portion of the [lovli . . .] beautiful
[Which once he made more lovely ; when the skies]
Which once which now he
When and late he left more bright

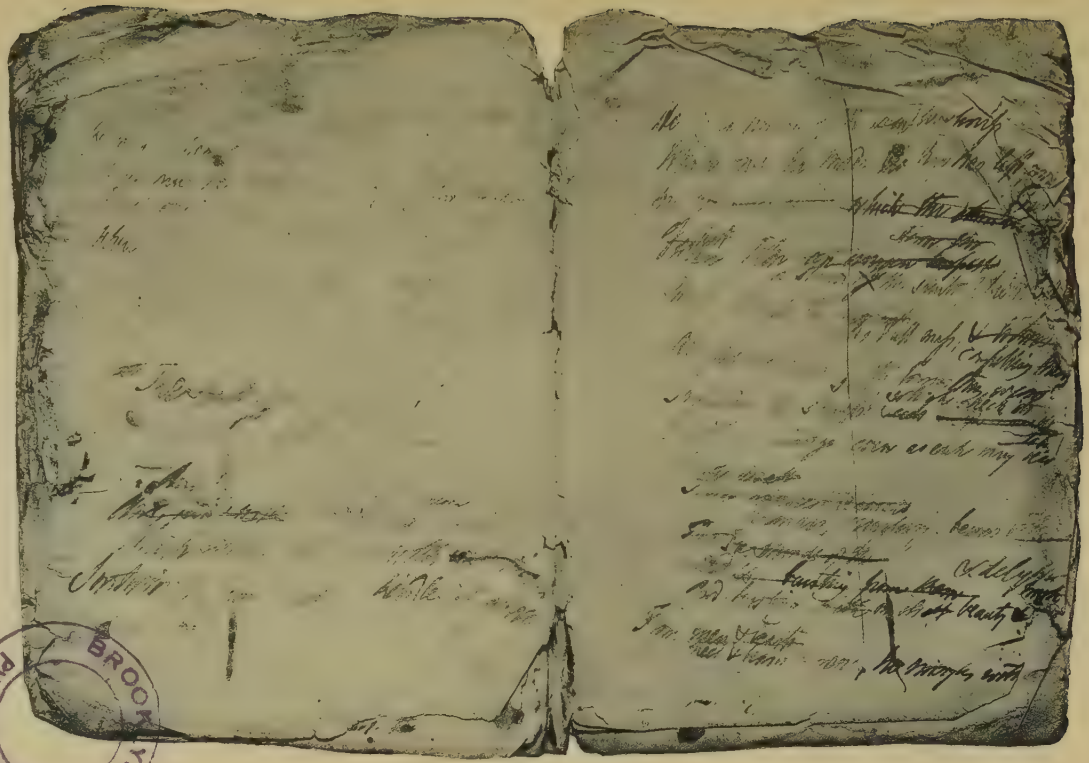
The spirit of the gate is Love
And purged with pain and death
Which wields the world with never [un]wearied (love)
Sustains it from beneath, and kindles it above.

XLIIIb

He is a portion of the loveliness
Which once he made, and now has left more fair
In the succession which the [eternal]
When like a storm the spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the world's dull mass [and tortuous] compelling there
All new successions to the forms they wear
Torturing the sluggish shapes which checks its flight
To its own image [likeness], even as each may bear
[There minglest Adonais]
There Adonais mingling hears and with delight
And bursting [with] its beauty and its might
From [men and beasts] trees and beasts and men, he mingles with . . .

XLIII

He is a portion of the loveliness
Which once he made more lovely : he doth bear
His part, while the one Spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there
All new successions to the forms they wear,
Torturing th' unwilling dross that checks its flight
To its own likeness, as each mass may bear ;
And bursting in its beauty and its might
From trees and beasts and men into the Heavens' light.



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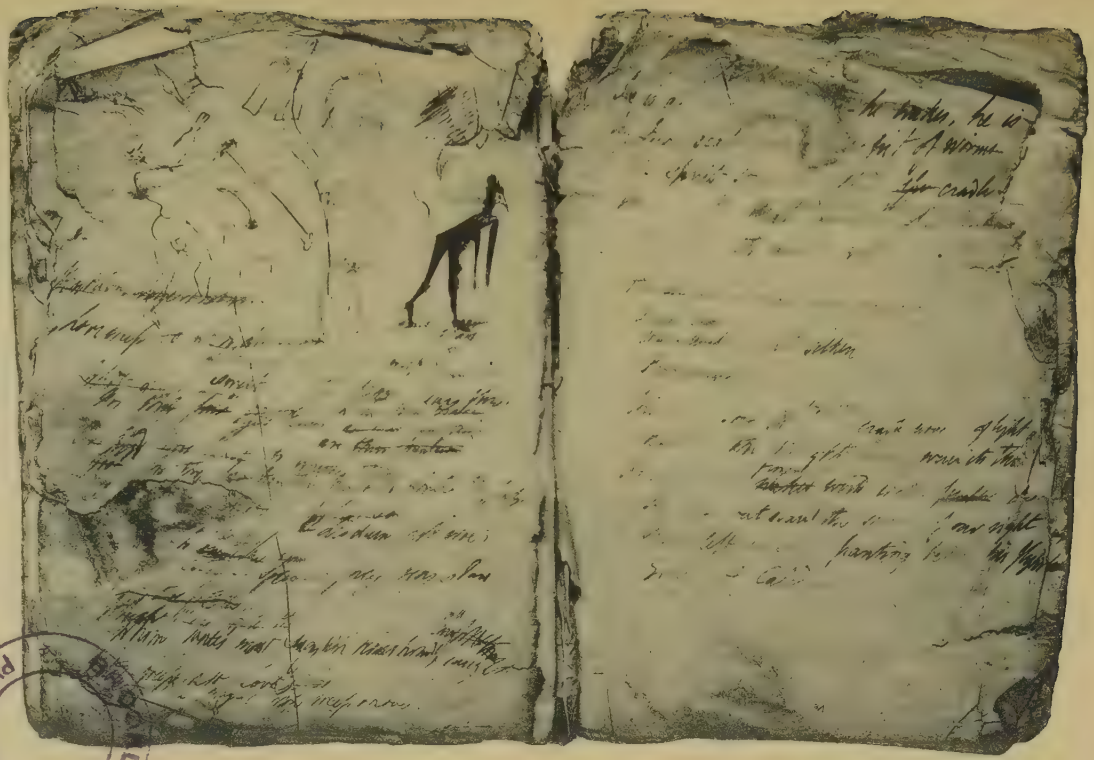
ADONAIS.

XLII. XLIII.



ADONAIS.

VI. XL.

PUBLIC LIBRARY LYN

[Not identified] [1]

Love weeps, [O when did before and alas]
who ever knew Love weep ?
What gentle sweet though tears flow
For thy [fair cheeks] eyes which he has made
[all their fountains are their fountains]
And poor heart to which them
for the trembling hearts to which they
(? passed)
disdain not woe ;
prey was slow
[Which when Hate the]
Whom Hate's most (? sluggish) bloodhound fill
weep [rest] not Love for
mayst now weep anew

[Not identified]

A star of Heaven not fallen upon the earth-
nations
A spark of inextinguishable glory splendour—
A [star] of Heaven has the abyss
A [sphearless] star [out of] shaken from the con-
stellations
Which gem the throne [of God—a burning atom
[earth and its nations]
Even like the billow of a deluge
A burning of eternal
A living atom of eternal Night
[The lightnings] [The sun is darkness]

[1] [The facsimile is numbered VI in error.]

DRAFTS OF AN ITALIAN POEM, OR POEMS

[I am indebted to Mr. R. A. Streatfeild for the transcripts and translations of these verses, which do not appear to have been published. Trelawny assured Mr. W. M. Rossetti very positively that Shelley originally wrote the *Epipsychidion* in Italian. Is it possible that these lines form a portion of such a design which he may, or may not, have completed ?]

* * * * * *

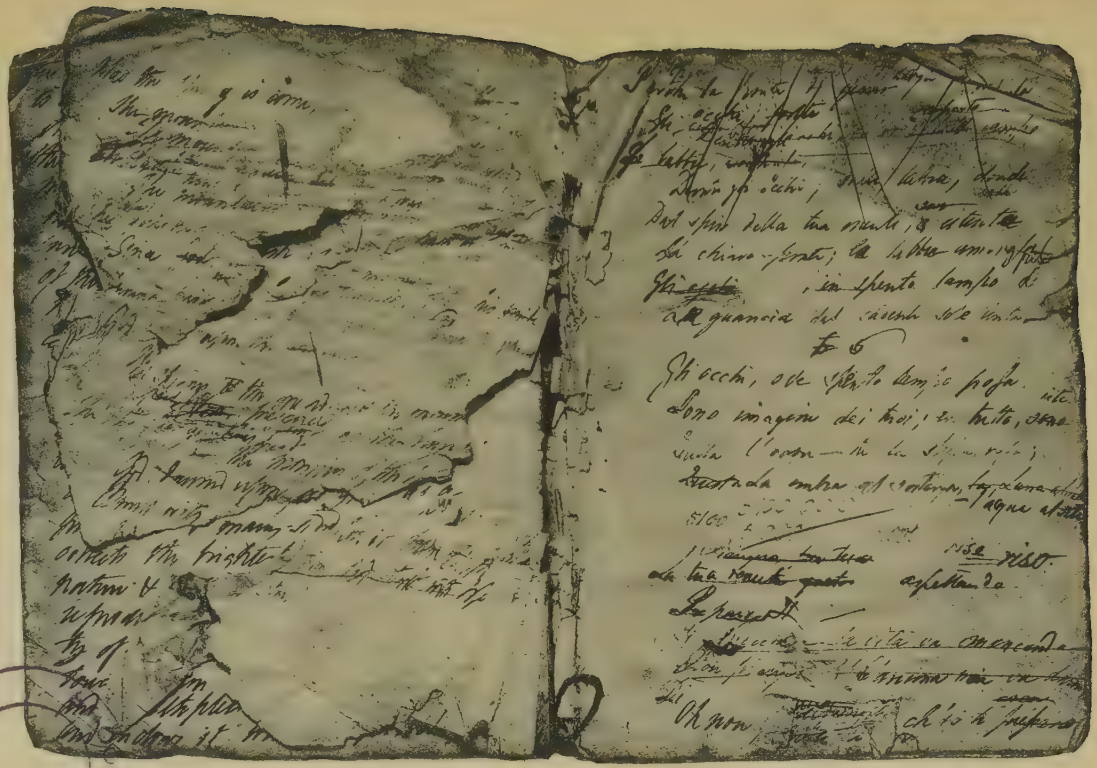
Dal spiro della tua
La chiara fronte, le labbra amorose
La guancia dal cadente sole tinta
Gli occhi, ove spento tempo posa
Sono imagini dei tuoi in tutta vita
Quella l' odor tu la stessa rosa
Questo la ombra al sostegno
La tua venuta aspettando
la vita va mancando.

From the breath of thy
The clear brow, the amorous lips,
The cheek tinted by the setting sun,
The eyes, where past time reposes,
Are images of thine in full life
This is the fragrance, thou the rose herself
This shadow in support
Thy coming expecting
life fades away.

Ah non pianger, no quaggiù non posso

Ah, weep not, here below I cannot

Dal dura prigione della passata
Dal vano pentimento e vana passione
Dal alta speme mai non compita
Dalle fantasmi che dal memoria vengon
Inspirando sogni del presente ora
O dalle ombre che il futuro anno
Getta davanti . . .
Dalla morte moriendo.



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ASTOR LENOX

ADONAIS.
XIX.

DRAFT OF AN ITALIAN POEM.

From the cruel prison of the past,
From vain repentance and vain passion,
From the lofty hope that never was fulfilled,
From the phantasms that come from memory,
Inspiring dreams of the present hour:
O from the shades that the coming year
Throws in advance . . .
From death dying

Così vestiva in barbari accenti
Il vero affetto . . . un' armonia.

So have I clad in barbarous accents
The true affection . . . a harmony.

Oh non piango, s' io pianger devo
Il riflusso della sua onda in un
Dove si preparebbe fabricarci
Un queto asilo, lontan di ogni pena
Scioglerò un . . . sul purpureo Oceano cielo
Un queto asilo, che . . . quando

O I weep not, if I should weep
The refluence of her wave in a
Where might be prepared for us
A quiet refuge far from all pain
I will loose a . . . on the purple { Ocean / heaven
A quiet refuge, where . . . when

La tua venuta nelle isole eterne
Non pianger no . . .
la refluente stretta
Mi porto a quel porto dove si aspettamo
In questo asilo . . .

Thy coming into the eternal isles
Weep not, no . . .
—the refluence quick
I take myself to that port where we await each other
In this refuge . . .

Non mi fu conceduto qui

. . . . . .

La rapida Peara
Non ci fu {conceduto / dato d' aggiungere il voto
Non cercherei
Il cielo
Non mai avremo al di lâ di morte
Così arcato al di là di morte
Un Paradiso, dove tu non stai

It was not granted me here
The rapid Peara (?)
It was not {granted us / given us to win our prayer
I would not seek
Heaven
We shall never possess on the far side of death
Thus {hurled / arched} to the other side of death
A Paradise, where thou standest not

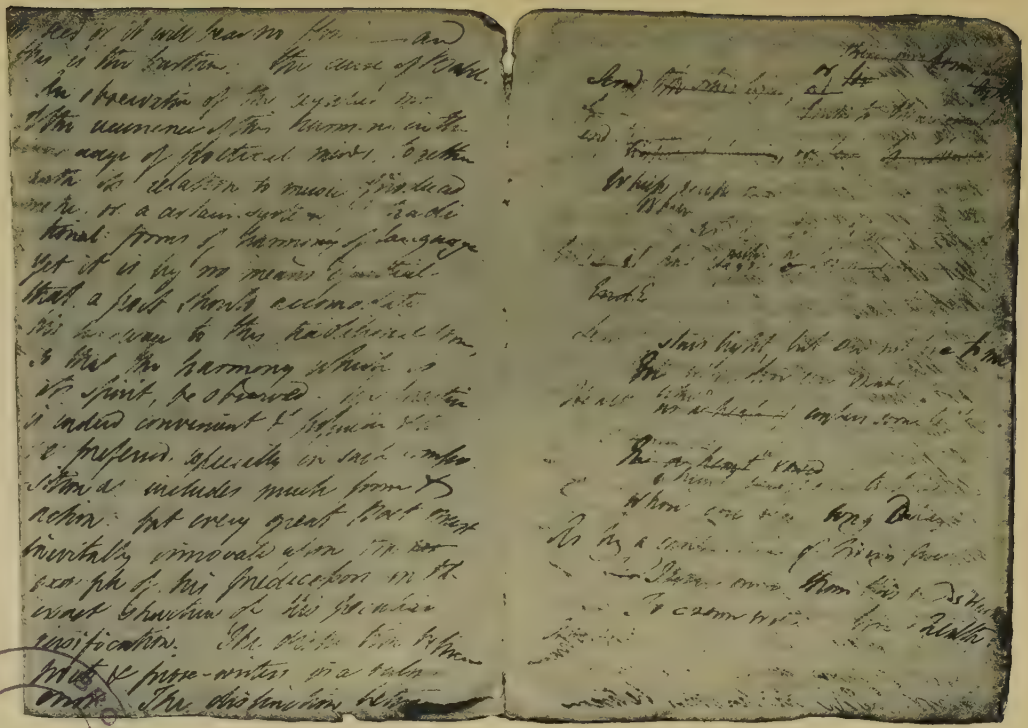
TO EMELIA VIVIANI

Send the stars bright,

Send not love to me
withered
Where it has blighted a bosom white

Send the stars bright, but send not love to me
In whom love ever made
like
Health [as a heap of] embers soon to fade.

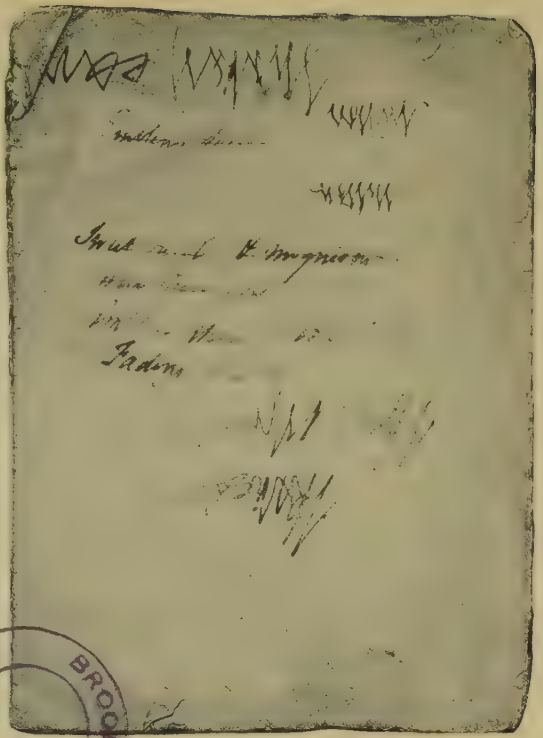
[In a heart is vowed]
That heart [was] e'er vowed to tears
When love was long delay
As by a of living fire
[For] Then more than this wealth
To crown with love and health.



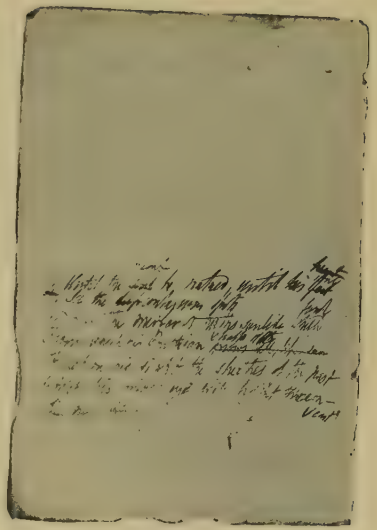
DEFENCE OF POETRY.

TO EMILIA VIVIANI.

PUBLIC LIBRARY BROOKLYN



TO EMILIA VIVIANI.



FRAGMENT OF
A SATIRE ON SATIRE.

PUBLIC LIBRARY BROOKLYN

Shelley's MS. Note-Book

Madonna wherefore hast thou sent to me
Sweet basil and mignonette
[Alas and with]
[Embleming health which never yet]
Embleming love and health which never yet
In the same wreath might be—
Alas, and they are wet
And is it with thy kisses or thy tears ?
For [it is not with dew]
never rain or dew

Such fragrance drew
From leaf or flower, the very doubt endears
[sighs]
My sadness ever new
The sighs I breathe the tears I shed for thee.

[On another sheet Shelley has written some phrases which appear in his lines to Emelia Viviani, and he scribbled, in a feigned hand, the name of Shakespeare three times, and that of Milton twice.

The piece of manuscript on the smaller sheet, which has been reproduced on this plate, does not belong to the MS. note-book. It is the portion of Shelley's draft of "A Satire on Satire": this and another leaf are in the collection of Sir John C. E. Shelley. The fragment was first printed by the late Professor Dowden in the *Correspondence of Robert Southey and Caroline Bowles*, 1880, and subsequently by other editors.]

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THE END

Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson & Co.
Edinburgh & London

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l Eden, of
urst, co.

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Richard Shelley, of Patcham, ancestor of the Patcham Shelleys.

And other issue.

, dau. and heir of Richard Sackville, of Chepsted, Surrey. = Thomas Marston, Gent.

Henry Shelley, of Worming-hurst, co. Sussex, *d.* 1623. = Barbara, dau. of Wm. Cromer, *d.* 1612. 2nd wife.

Richard Shelley, 3rd son. Baptized Nov. 17, 1583. = Joan Feist.

Other issue.

hn Shelley, 1st son, *d.* 1673. = Bridget, dau. of Sir Thos. Eversfield, *d.* Nov. 1671.

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John Michell.

Richard Michell.

Anne Michell. = Thos. Slyford.

Percy Shelley.

And other issue.

Wm. Este. = Elizabeth Slyford.

Wm. Este.

Michael Este. = Ann Slyford.

No issue.

Mary Slyford, *d.* unmarried.

John King. = Johanna Slyford.

No issue.

John Shelley, of Field Place, 1st son, *b.* 1729. Baptized Newark, New Jersey, *d. s.p.* 1790. = Mary, dau. of Wm. White, of Horsham.

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